

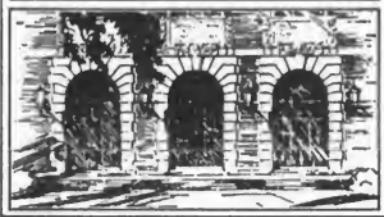
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193

# Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen

an der Königlichen  
Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität  
zu Berlin

Herausgegeben von dem Direktor  
**Prof. Dr. Eduard Sachau**  
Geh. Ober-Regierungsrat



**JAHRGANG XI**  
**ERSTE ABTEILUNG: OSTASIATISCHE STUDIEN**

Berlin 1908  
Kommissionsverlag von Georg Reimer

## Geschäftliche Mitteilung.

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Erste Abteilung



# Ostasiatische Studien

Redigiert von  
Prof. Dr. R. Lange und Prof. Dr. A. Forke

v

1908

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## Inhalt.

	Seite
Seminarchronik für die Zeit vom Oktober 1907 bis August 1908 . . . . .	<u>I</u>
Lun-Héng. Selected Essays of the Philosopher Wang Ch'ung. Translated from the Chinese and annotated by Alfred Forke (Part III) . . . . .	1
Bericht über eine Reise in das Innere der Insel Hainan. Von M. Diehr . .	189
Die Erzeugnisse der Provinz Tschili. Von Dr. Hauer . . . . .	210
Ein Wegweiser für moderne Frauen und Mädchen. Von Fukuzawa Yükichi. Übersetzt von T. Tsuji . . . . .	265



## Seminarchronik für die Zeit vom Oktober 1907 bis August 1908.

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**Das Seminar zählte:**

- a) im Wintersemester 1907/08: 302 Mitglieder — darunter 10 Post- und 4 Eisenbahnbeamte als Mitglieder des Kursus behufs Ausbildung im praktischen Gebrauch der russischen Sprache — und 20 Hospitanten und Hospitantinnen. Gesamtzahl der Seminarbesucher: 322 Personen;
- b) im Sommersemester 1908: 222 Mitglieder — darunter 9 Post- und 4 Eisenbahnbeamte als Mitglieder des Kursus behufs Ausbildung im praktischen Gebrauch der russischen Sprache — und 24 Hospitanten und Hospitantinnen. Gesamtzahl der Seminarbesucher: 246 Personen.

**Der Lehrkörper bestand:**

- a) im Wintersemester 1907/08 aus 27 Lehrern und 14 Lektoren.

Zu Beginn des Wintersemesters wurde der Privatdozent an der Universität Greifswald Herr Dr. Friedrich Giese zum etatmäßigen Lehrer des Türkischen und der Privatdozent an der Universität Halle Herr Dr. Georg Kampffmeyer zum kommissarischen Lehrer arabischer Dialekte ernannt. Beiden Herren wurde gleichzeitig das Prädikat eines Königlichen Professors beigelegt. Der Lehrkörper für das Chinesische wurde durch Eintritt der Herren Chiang Chao-Yuo, Wang Hung-Ming und Wang Kung-Ming als Lektorgehilfen verstärkt, und an Stelle des ausgeschiedenen Lektors des Abessinischen und Amharischen, Aleka Taje, wurde der Privatdozent für semitische Sprachen an der Universität Berlin Herr Dr. Eugen Mittwoch mit der Abhaltung des Unterrichts in diesen Sprachen beauftragt. Zu gleicher Zeit übernahm Herr Hauptmann a. D. Hans Ramsay die bisher von Herrn Professor Dr. Lippert über Landeskunde von Kamerun und Herr Professor Dr. Karl Uhlig die bisher von Herrn Professor Dr. Velten

über Landeskunde von Deutsch-Ostafrika gehaltenen Vorlesung. Ferner wurde der Gymnasial-Oberlehrer Herr Adolf Lane aus Saratow in Rußland mit den Funktionen eines Hilfslehrers des Russischen, der Privatdozent Herr Professor Dr. Franz Finck mit der Vertretung ozeanischer Sprachen und von Neujahr 1908 ab der Missionar Herr Diedrich Westermann mit der Abhaltung des Eweunterrichts beauftragt. Schließlich wurde der Kaiserliche Konsul a. D. Herr Dr. Georg Schulze ermächtigt, im Seminar Vorlesungen über Konsularrecht und Konsulargeschäfte zu halten;

- b) im Sommersemester 1908 aus 30 Lehrern und 14 Lektoren.

Mitte des Semesters wurde der Lehrer des Ewe, Herr Missionar Diedrich Westermann, neben seinem Eweunterricht auch mit den Funktionen eines Lektors des Haussa und Fulbe beauftragt. Von den Dozenten des Seminars erhielten im Laufe des Semesters ausländische Ordensauszeichnungen: der Lehrer des Suaheli Herr Professor Dr. Velten von Seiner Hoheit dem Sultan von Zanzibar den Orden vom »Strahlenden Stern« 3. Klasse, und der Lehrer des Japanischen Herr Plaut von Seiner Majestät dem Kaiser von Japan die 6. Klasse des Ordens der »Aufgehenden Sonne«.

Der Seminarunterricht erstreckte sich:

- a) im Wintersemester 1906/07

auf 17 Sprachen:

Chinesisch, Japanisch, Arabisch (Syrisch, Ägyptisch, Marokkanisch), Persisch, Türkisch, Suaheli, Haussa, Fulbe, Ewe, Nama, Herero, Englisch, Französisch, Neugriechisch, Rumänisch, Russisch und Spanisch

und 7 Realienfächer:

wissenschaftliche Beobachtungen auf Reisen, Tropenhygiene, tropische Nutzpflanzen, Landeskunde von Deutsch-Ostafrika, Landeskunde von Kamerun und Togo, deutsche Kolonien, Konsularrecht und Konsulargeschäfte;

- b) im Sommersemester 1908

auf 20 Sprachen:

Chinesisch, Japanisch, Arabisch (Syrisch, Ägyptisch, Marokkanisch), Amharisch, Äthiopisch, Persisch, Türkisch, Suaheli, Guzerati, Haussa, Fulbe, Ewe, Herero, Ozeanisch, Englisch, Französisch, Neugriechisch, Rumänisch, Russisch und Spanisch

und 6 Realienfächer:

wissenschaftliche Beobachtungen auf Reisen, Tropenhygiene, tropische Nutzpflanzen, Landeskunde von Deutsch-Ostafrika, Landeskunde von Kamerun und Togo, Rechtsprechung und Verwaltung der Schutzgebiete, Konsularrecht und Konsulargeschäfte.

Der Unterricht wurde erteilt:

- a) im Wintersemester 1907/08 zwischen 8 Uhr morgens und 8 Uhr abends;
- b) im Sommersemester 1908 zwischen 7 Uhr morgens und 8 Uhr abends.

Ferienkurse fanden während der Herbstferien 1907 vom 15. September bis 14. Oktober und während der Osterferien 1908 vom 15. März bis zum 14. April statt.

Zu außerstatutenmäßigen Terminen im Februar und März 1908 sowie zum statutenmäßigen Termin im Sommer 1908 brachten die nachstehend verzeichneten Mitglieder des Seminars durch Ablegung der Diplomprüfung vor der Königlichen Diplom-Prüfungskommission ihre Seminarstudien zum vorschriftsmäßigen Abschluß:

1. Kurt Alinge, stud. jur., im Chinesischen;
2. Walther Fimmen, stud. jur., im Chinesischen;
3. Herbert König, stud. jur., im Chinesischen;
4. Enno Bracklo, Referendar, im Chinesischen;
5. Heinrich Müldner, Referendar, im Chinesischen;
6. Friedrich Leutwein, Leutnant, im Chinesischen;
7. Ernst Lexis, Oberleutnant, im Chinesischen;
8. Alexander von Falkenhausen, Oberleutnant, im Japanischen;
9. Werner Rabe von Pappenheim, Oberleutnant, im Japanischen;
10. Fritz Hartog, Oberleutnant, im Japanischen;
11. Fritz Kämmerling, Oberleutnant, im Japanischen;
12. Walter Kaempf, Regierungsbaumeister, im Japanischen;
13. Georg Krause, stud. jur., im Japanischen;
14. Erich Schmahl, stud. jur., im Japanischen;
15. Kurt Sell, stud. jur., im Japanischen;
16. Hermann Kraushaar, stud. jur., im Arabisch-Marokkanischen;
17. Johannes Richter, stud. jur., im Arabisch-Marokkanischen;
18. Gotthold Guertler, stud. jur., im Persischen;

19. Hans Meyer, stud. jur., im Persischen;
20. Feodor Fiedler, Referendar, im Türkischen;
21. Paul Ebert, Referendar, im Türkischen;
22. Georg Brinck, Amtsrichter, im Türkischen;
23. Wolfgang Hammann, Referendar, im Türkischen;
24. Ludwig Kalisch, stud. jur., im Türkischen;
25. Gustav Niemöller, stud. jur., im Türkischen;
26. Erich Pritsch, stud. jur., im Türkischen;
27. Margarete Michaelson, Schriftstellerin, im Russischen.

Am 31. Juli 1908 fand die Entlassung des diesjährigen Kursus der dem Seminar für Ausbildung im praktischen Gebrauch der russischen Sprache überwiesenen Post- und Eisenbahnbeamten statt, der sich aus den folgenden Mitgliedern zusammensetzte:

1. Ernst Gawron, Ober-Postpraktikant, aus Schlesien;
2. Hans Braun, Ober-Postpraktikant, aus Posen;
3. Fritz Mietzner, Ober-Postpraktikant, aus Brandenburg;
4. Georg Abromeit, Ober-Postpraktikant, aus Ostpreußen;
5. Robert Clemens, Ober-Postpraktikant, aus Ostpreußen;
6. Paul Krippeit, Telegraphensekretär, aus Ostpreußen;
7. Richard Müller, Postsekretär, aus Westpreußen;
8. Wilhelm Neumann, Postsekretär, aus Posen;
9. Karl Macht, Postassistent, aus der Rheinprovinz;
10. Georg Neumann, Eisenbahn-Bahnhofsvorsteher, aus Schlesien;
11. Oskar Fuhrmann, Eisenbahn-Gütervorsteher, aus Prov. Sachsen;
12. Paul Seemann, Eisenbahn-Praktikant, aus Posen;
13. Joseph Wiecha, Eisenbahn-Praktikant, aus Schlesien.

Soweit vom Seminar aus festgestellt werden konnte, haben die nachstehend aufgeführten Mitglieder des Seminars während der Zeit vom August 1907 bis dahin 1908 in verschiedenen Ländern Asiens und Afrikas Amt und Stellung gefunden:

1. Walter Trittel, Referendar, aus Prov. Sachsen, als Dolmetscheraspirant bei der Kaiserlichen Gesandtschaft in Peking;
2. Hans Bragard, Referendar, aus der Rheinprovinz, desgl.;
3. Walter Holstein, Referendar, aus Berlin, desgl. in Konstantinopel;

4. Paul Ebert, Dr. jur., Referendar, aus Westpreußen, desgl. in Bagdad;
5. Edmund Simon, Dr. jur., Referendar, aus Kgr. Sachsen, desgl. in Tokio;
6. Friedrich Mohr, Referendar, aus der Rheinprovinz, desgl. bei dem Kaiserlichen Gouvernement von Kiautschou;
7. Friedrich Thilo, Referendar, aus Schleswig-Holstein, desgl.;
8. Alfred Kohler, Dr. jur., Assessor, aus Baden, als höherer Beamter bei dem Kaiserlichen Gouvernement von Deutsch-Südwestafrika;
9. Waldemar Ammann, Dr. med., aus dem Elsaß, als Leiter der deutschen Medizinschule in Schanghai;
10. Karl Franz, Dr. phil., Oberlehrer, aus Hannover, als Leiter einer deutschen Schule in China;
11. Friedrich Pultar, Lehrer, aus Schlesien, als Lehrer an einer deutschen Schule in China;
12. Karl Kaiser, Lehrer, aus der Rheinprovinz, desgl.;
13. Johann Aring, Lehrer, aus Hannover, desgl.;
14. Hans Taubert, Hauptmann, aus Schleswig-Holstein, als Offizier bei dem Kaiserlichen Besatzungsdetachement in China;
15. Erich Mater, Oberleutnant, aus Kgr. Sachsen, desgl.;
16. Ernst Streit, Oberleutnant, aus Pommern, desgl.;
17. Eduard von Losch, Oberleutnant, aus Anhalt, desgl.;
18. Friedrich Leutwein, Leutnant, aus Berlin, desgl.;
19. Fritz Hartog, Hauptmann, aus der Rheinprovinz, zu Studienzwecken nach Japan kommandiert;
20. Fritz Kämmerling, Hauptmann, aus Pommern, desgl.;
21. Fritz Hentz, Hauptmann, aus Berlin, desgl.;
22. Hans Albert Beyer, Hauptmann, aus Kgr. Sachsen, desgl.;
23. Kurt von Stegmann und Stein, Oberleutnant, aus Schlesien, als Offizier der Kaiserlichen Schutztruppen in Deutsch-Ostafrika;
24. Friedrich Rogalla von Bieberstein, Oberleutnant, aus Schlesien, desgl.;
25. Paul Stemmermann, Oberleutnant, aus Hannover, desgl.;
26. Paul Hochschultz, Oberleutnant, aus Westpreußen, desgl.;
27. Karl von Buchwaldt, Leutnant, aus dem Elsaß, desgl.;
28. Harald Linde, Leutnant, aus dem Elsaß, desgl.;
29. Fritz Braunschweig, Leutnant, aus Westpreußen, desgl.;
30. Franz Reitenstein, Leutnant, aus der Prov. Sachsen, desgl.;

31. Karl Seitz, Leutnant, aus Bayern, desgl.;
32. Wilhelm Jördens, Hauptmann, aus Hannover, desgl. in Kamerun;
33. Karl Geißer, Leutnant, aus Württemberg, desgl. bei der Polizeitruppe in Togo;
34. Geo A. Schmidt, Bezirksamtmann, aus Brandenburg, als Bezirksamtmann bei dem Kaiserlichen Gouvernement von Kamerun;
35. Gustav Grützner, Zollassistent, aus Kgr. Sachsen, als Zollbeamter bei dem Kaiserlichen Gouvernement von Deutsch-Ostafrika;
36. Johannes Hoffmann, Forstbeamter, aus Brandenburg, desgl. als Forstbeamter;
37. Wilhelm Rauer, Forstbeamter, aus Westpreußen, desgl.;
38. Walter Jopp, Steuerdiätar, aus Ostpreußen, desgl.;
39. Erich Maeffert, Regierungs-Supernumerar, aus Berlin, als Sekretär bei dem Kaiserlichen Gouvernement von Deutsch-Ostafrika;
40. Ludwig Paul, Regierungs-Supernumerar, aus Schleswig-Holstein, desgl.;
41. Ernst Rudau, Gerichtsssekretär, aus Westpreußen, desgl.;
42. Otto Scheffler, Gerichtsaktuar, aus Hannover, desgl.;
43. Richard Krimling, Aktuar, aus Hannover, desgl.;
44. Heinrich Merle, Gerichtsschreiber, aus Hessen-Nassau, desgl.;
45. Karl Rohde, Zollsekretär, aus Ostpreußen, desgl.;
46. Friedrich Warnecke, Gerichtsaktuar, aus Hannover, desgl.;
47. Heinrich Jaep, Postassistent, aus Hannover, als Postbeamter bei dem Kaiserlichen Postamt in Smyrna;
48. Ludwig Schluckebier, Postassistent, aus Westfalen, desgl. in Konstantinopel;
49. Valentin Stößer, Postassistent, aus Baden, desgl.;
50. Martin Conzen, Postassistent, aus der Rheinprovinz, desgl.;
51. Wilhelm Meuschke, Postassistent, aus Westfalen, desgl.;
52. Otto Gebert, Postassistent aus Brandenburg, desgl. in Tanger (Marokko);
53. Paul Heinrich, Postassistent, aus der Rheinprovinz, desgl.;
54. Richard Hoburg, Postassistent, aus Schlesien, desgl.;
55. Fritz Waßmuth, Postassistent, aus Hessen-Nassau, desgl. in Deutsch-Ostafrika;
56. Kurt Menge, Postassistent, aus Pommern, desgl.;

57. Paul Barthel, Postassistent, Kgr. Sachsen, desgl.;
58. Julius Lorenz, Postassistent, aus Westfalen, desgl.;
59. Friedrich Sieckmann, Missionskandidat, aus Westfalen, als Missionar in Deutsch-Südwestafrika;
60. Emil Buße, Missionskandidat, aus Kgr. Sachsen, desgl.;
61. Wilhelm Fricke, Missionskandidat, aus Lippe-Detmold, desgl.;
62. Peter Terp, Missionskandidat, aus Schleswig-Holstein, desgl. in Deutsch-Ostafrika;
63. Otto Dannenberger, Missionskandidat, aus Brandenburg, desgl.;
64. Karl Nauhaus, Missionar, aus der Kapkolonie, desgl.;
65. Gustav Pröck, Missionskandidat, aus Ostpreußen, desgl.:
66. Johannes Schwellnus, Missionskandidat, aus Südafrika, desgl.;
67. Emil Gramatte, Missionskandidat, aus Schlesien, desgl. in Südhina. .
68. Eduard Kittlaus, cand. theol., aus Ostpreußen, desgl.;
69. Reinhard Kluge, Missionskandidat, aus Berlin, desgl.;
70. Erhard Roland, Landwirt, aus Kgr. Sachsen, als Farmer in Deutsch-Südwestafrika;
71. Kasimir Bernhard, Landwirt, aus Westpreußen, desgl. in Deutsch-Ostafrika.

Von den vom Seminar herausgegebenen Publikationen sind von dem »Archiv für das Studium deutscher Kolonialsprachen« Ende 1907 Band V: Costantini, Lehrbuch der neupommerschen Sprache, und Band VI: Heudle, Die Sprache der Wapogoro, erschienen, während von dem Bande II, Fritz, Chamorro-Wörterbuch, eine zweite Auflage zur Zeit im Druck ist und demnächst zur Ausgabe gelangen wird.

Der Direktor,  
Geheimer Ober-Regierungsrat  
**SACHAU.**

## Lun-Hêng.

Selected Essays of the Philosopher Wang Ch'ung.

Translated from the Chinese and annotated by ALFRED FORKE.

(Continued from Mitt. d. Sem. f. Orient. Sprachen 1907 I. Abt. p. 173,  
referred to as II, p. . . .)

### CHAPTER XXXIII.

#### Criticisms on Confucius (*Wén K'ung*).

The students of Confucianism of the present day like to swear *in verba magistri*, and to believe in antiquity. The words of the Worthies and Sages are to them infallible, and they do their best to explain and practise them, but they are unable to criticize them. When the Worthies and Sages take the pencil, and commit their thoughts to writing, though they meditate, and thoroughly discuss their subject, one cannot say that they always hit the truth, and much less can their occasional utterances all be true. But although they cannot be all true, the scholars of to-day do not know, how to impugn them, and, in case they are true, but so abstruse that they are difficult to understand, those people do not know how to interpret their meaning. The words of the Sages on various occasions are often contradictory, and their writings at different times very often mutually clash. That however is, what the scholars of our time do not understand.

One always hears the remark that the talents of the Seventy Disciples of the school of *Confucius* surpassed those of the savants of our days. This statement is erroneous. They imagine that *Confucius* acting as teacher, a Sage propounding the doctrine, must have imparted it to exceptionally gifted men, whence the idea that they were quite unique. The talents of the ancients are the talents of the moderns. What we call men of superior genius now-a-days, were regarded by the ancients as Sages and supernatural beings, hence the belief that the Seventy Sages could not appear in other generations.

If at present there could be a teacher like *Confucius*, the scholars of this age would all be like *Yen* and *Min*,<sup>1</sup> and without

*Confucius*, the Seventy Disciples would be only like the Literati of the present day. For though learning from *Confucius*, they could not thoroughly inquire. The words of the Sage they did not completely understand, his doctrines and principles they were unable to explain. Therefore they ought to have asked to get a clearer conception, and not understanding thoroughly, they ought to have raised objections in order to come to a complete understanding.

The sentiments which *Kao Yao*<sup>2</sup> uttered before the Emperor *Shun* were shallow and superficial, and not to the point. *Yü* asked him to explain himself, when the shallow words became deeper, and the superficial hints more explicit,<sup>3</sup> for criticisms animate the discussion, and bring out the meaning, and opposition leads to greater clearness.

*Confucius* ridiculed the guitar-playing and singing of *Tse Yu*,<sup>4</sup> who, however, retorted by quoting what *Confucius* had said on a previous occasion. If we now take up the text of the *Analects*, we shall see that in the sayings of *Confucius* there is much like the strictures on the singing of *Tse Yu*. But there were few disciples able to raise a question like *Tse Yu*. In consequence the words of *Confucius* became stereotyped and inexplicable, because the Seventy could not make any objection, and the scholars of the present time are not in a position to judge of the truth of the doctrine.

Their scientific methods do not arise from a lack of ability, but the difficulty consists in opposing the teacher, scrutinizing his doctrine, investigating its meaning, and bringing evidence to ascertain right and wrong. Criticism is not solely permitted *vis-à-vis* to sages, as long as they are alive. The commentators of the present day do not require the instruction of a sage, before they dare to speak.

If questions be asked on things which seem inexplicable, and *Confucius* be pressed hard, how can this be deemed a violation of the moral laws, and if those who really are able to hand down the holy teachings, impugn the words of *Confucius*, why must their undertaking be considered unreasonable? I trust that, as regards

<sup>1</sup> *Yen Hui* and *Min Tse Chien*, two prominent disciples of *Confucius*.

<sup>2</sup> The minister of *Shun*.

<sup>3</sup> The discussions of the two wise men before *Shun* are to be found in the *Shuking*, *Kao Yao mo*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Analects* XVII, 4.

those inquiries into the words of *Confucius* and those remarks on his unintelligible passages, men of genius of all ages, possessing the natural gift of answering questions and solving difficulties, will certainly appreciate the criticisms and investigations made in our time.

"*Méng I Tse*<sup>1</sup> asked, what filial piety was. The Master said, 'To show no disregard.' Soon after, as *Fan Chih*<sup>2</sup> was driving him, the Master told him saying, "*Méng Sun*<sup>3</sup> asked me, what filial piety was, and I answered him, 'To show no disregard.'"

*Fan Chih* said, 'What does that mean?' The Master replied, 'That parents, while alive, should be served according to propriety; that, when dead, they should be buried according to propriety; and that they should be sacrificed to according to propriety.'<sup>4</sup>

Now I ask, *Confucius* said that no disregard is to be shown *viz.* no disregard to propriety. But a good son also must anticipate his parents' thoughts, conform to their will, and *never disregard their wishes*. *Confucius* said "to show no disregard," but did not speak of disregard for propriety. Could *Méng I Tse*, hearing the words of *Confucius*, not imagine that he meant to say, "no disregard for (the parents) wishes?" When *Fan Chih* came, he asked, what it meant. Then *Confucius* said, "That parents while alive should be served according to propriety; that, when dead, they should be buried according to propriety; and that they should be sacrificed to according to propriety." Had *Fan Chih* not inquired, what the words "no disregard" meant, he would not have understood them.

*Méng I Tse's* talents did not surpass those of *Fan Chih*, therefore there is no record of his sayings or doings in the chapters of the *Analects*. Since *Fan Chih* could not catch the meaning, would *Méng I Tse* have done so?

*Méng Wu Po* asked what filial piety was. The Master replied "If the only sorrow parents have, is that which they feel, when their children are sick."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Méng I Tse* was the chief of one of three powerful families in *Lu*.

<sup>2</sup> A disciple of *Confucius*.

<sup>3</sup> I. e. *Méng I Tee*.

<sup>4</sup> *Analects* II, 5.—The citations from the *Analects* are quoted from *Legge's* translation, but here and there modified so as to suit the text, for *Wang Chung* often understands a passage quite differently from *Legge* and his authorities.

<sup>5</sup> *Analects* II, 6.

*Méng Wu Po* used to cause his parents much sorrow, therefore *Confucius* spoke the afore-mentioned words. *Méng Wu Po* was a cause of sorrow to his parents, whereas *Méng I Tse* disregarded propriety. If in reproving this fault *Confucius* replied to *Méng Wu Po* "If the only sorrow parents have is that which they feel, when their children are sick," he ought to have told *Méng I Tse* that only in case of fire or inundation might propriety be neglected.

*Chou Kung* says that small talents require thorough instructions, whereas for great ones a hint is sufficient. *Tse Yu* possessed great talents, yet with him *Confucius* went into details. The talents of *Méng I Tse* were comparatively small, but *Confucius* gave him a mere hint. Thus he did not fall in with *Chou Kung's* views. Reproving the shortcomings of *Méng I Tse*, he lost the right principle. How was it that none of his disciples took exception?

If he did not dare to speak too openly owing to the high position held by *Méng I Tse*, he likewise ought to have said to *Méng Wu Po* nothing more than 'not to cause sorrow (is filial piety)', for both were scions of the *Méng* family, and of equal dignity. There is no apparent reason, why he should have spoken to *Méng Wu Po* in clear terms and to *Méng I Tse* thus vaguely. Had *Confucius* freely told *Méng I Tse* not to disregard propriety, what harm would there have been?

No other family was more powerful in *Lu* than the *Chi* family, yet *Confucius* blamed them for having eight rows of pantomimes in their court,<sup>1</sup> and objected to their performing a sacrifice on Mount *T'ai*.<sup>2</sup> He was not afraid of the evil consequences, which this lack of reserve in regard to the usurpation of territorial rights by the *Chi* family might have for him, but anticipated bad results from a straightforward answer given to *Méng I Tse*? Moreover, he was questioned about filial piety more than once, and he had always his charioteer at hand.<sup>3</sup> When he spoke to *Méng I Tse*, he was not merely in a submissive mood,<sup>4</sup> therefore he informed *Fan Chih*.

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*Confucius* said<sup>5</sup> "Riches and honour are what men desire. If they cannot be obtained in the proper way, they should not be

<sup>1</sup> *Analects* III, 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Analects* 8 III, 6. This sacrifice was a privilege of the sovereign.

<sup>3</sup> So that he might have used him as his mouth-piece as in the case of *Méng I Tse*.

<sup>4</sup> He was not afraid of *Méng I Tse*.

<sup>5</sup> *Analects* IV, 5.

held. Poverty and meanness are what men dislike. If they cannot be obtained in the proper way, they should not be avoided."<sup>1</sup>

The meaning is that men must acquire riches in a just and proper way, and not take them indiscriminately, that they must keep within their bounds, patiently endure poverty, and not recklessly throw it off. To say that riches and honour must not be held, unless they are obtained in the proper way, is all right, but what is poverty and meanness not obtained in a proper way? Wealth and honour can, of course, be abandoned, but what is the result of giving up poverty and meanness? By giving up poverty and meanness one obtains wealth and honour. As long as one does not obtain wealth and honour, one does not get rid of poverty and meanness. If we say that, unless wealth and honour can be obtained in a proper way, poverty and meanness should not be shunned, then that which is obtained is wealth and honour, not poverty and meanness. How can the word "obtaining" be used with reference to poverty and meanness? Therefore the passage ought to read as follows:

"Poverty and meanness are what people dislike. If they cannot be *avoided* in the proper way, they should not be avoided."

Avoiding is the proper word, not obtaining. Obtaining is used of obtaining. Now there is avoiding, how can it be called obtaining? Only in regard to riches and honour we can speak of obtaining. How so? By obtaining riches and honour one avoids poverty and meanness. Then how can poverty and meanness be avoided in the proper way?—By purifying themselves and keeping in the proper way officials acquire rank and emoluments, wealth and honour, and by obtaining these they avoid poverty and meanness.

How are poverty and meanness avoided not in the proper way?—If anybody feels so vexed and annoyed with poverty and meanness, that he has recourse to brigandage and robbery for the purpose of amassing money and valuables, and usurps official emoluments, then he does not keep in the proper way.

Since the Seventy Disciples did not ask any question regarding the passage under discussion, the literati of to-day are likewise incapable of raising any objection.

If the meaning of this utterance is not explained, nor the words made clear, we would have to say that *Confucius* could not

<sup>1</sup> Wang Chung thus interprets the passage, which gives no sense. I should say that he misunderstood *Confucius*, for every difficulty is removed, if we take the words to mean what Legge translates:—"if it cannot be obtained" *viz.* "if it is not possible to act in the aforesaid manner" instead of "if they cannot be obtained."

speak properly. As long as the meaning continues unravelled, and the words unexplained, the admonition of *Confucius* remains incomprehensible. Why did his disciples not ask, and people now say nothing?

"*Confucius* said of *Kung Yeh Ch'ang* that he might be wived and that, although he was put in bonds, he was not guilty. Accordingly he gave him his daughter to wife."<sup>1</sup>

I ask what was the idea of *Confucius*, when he gave a wife to *Kung Yeh Ch'ang*. Did he think him fit to marry, because he was thirty years old, or on account of his excellent conduct? If he had his thirty years in view, he should not have spoken of his being in fetters, and if he looked upon his conduct, there was no occasion either for mentioning his imprisonment. Why? Because all who joined the school of *Confucius* were well-behaved. Therefore they were called accomplished followers. If among these followers one or the other was unmarried, he might have been married, but it need not be mentioned. If among the disciples many unmarried ones existed and *Kung Yeh Ch'ang* was the most virtuous of them, and should therefore *Confucius* have given him a wife alone, then in praising him *Confucius* ought to have enumerated his deeds instead of speaking of his imprisonment. There are not a few persons in the world, who suffer violence without being guilty, but they are not perfect sages therefore. Of ordinary people who are wronged, there are a great many, not only one. If *Confucius* made an innocent man his son-in-law, he selected not a virtuous man, but one who had suffered injustice. The only praise *Confucius* had for *Kung Yeh Ch'ang* was his innocence; of his doings or his qualities he said not a word. If in fact he was not virtuous, and *Confucius* made him his son-in-law, he did wrong, and if he was virtuous indeed, but *Confucius* in praising him did not mention it, he was wrong likewise. It was like his giving a wife to *Nan Yung*,<sup>2</sup> of whom he said that 'if the country were well-governed, he would not be out of office, and if it were ill-governed, he would escape punishment and disgrace,'<sup>3</sup> a praise which left nothing to be desired.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Analects* V, 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Confucius* gave *Nan Yung* the daughter of his elder brother to wife.

<sup>3</sup> *Analects* V, 1.

<sup>4</sup> Wang Ch'ung's objections are again far-fetched and groundless. The words of *Confucius* imply that *Kung Yeh Ch'ang's* character was so excellent and above suspicion, that *Confucius* would not doubt him, even if he were condemned by the world and treated like a criminal, and therefore he made him his son-in-law.

The Master said to *Tse Kung*, "Which of you two, yourself or *Hui* is superior?" *Tse Kung* replied, "How dare I compare myself with *Hui*? If *Hui* hears one point, he knows therefrom ten others. If I hear one, I know but two." The Master said "Not equal to him. I and you together cannot compare with him."<sup>1</sup>

Thus with a view to setting forth the excellence of *Yen Hui* this question was put to *Tse Kung*. This calls for the following remark:

That which *Confucius* propounded was propriety and modesty. *Tse Lu* would govern a State with propriety, but his words were not modest, therefore *Confucius* criticized him.<sup>2</sup> Had *Tse Kung* really been superior to *Hui*, he would, on being asked by *Confucius*, have replied nevertheless that he was not equal to him, and had he been inferior in fact, he would likewise have owned to his inferiority. In the first case the answer would not have been wrong or a deception of the Master, for propriety and modesty require deprecatory and humble words.

What was the purport of this inquiry of *Confucius*? If he was aware that *Yen Hui* surpassed *Tse Kung*, he did not need to ask the latter, and if he really did not know, and therefore asked *Tse Kung*, he would not have learned it in this way either, for *Tse Kung* was bound to give a modest and humble reply. If *Confucius* merely wanted to eulogise *Hui* and praise his virtue, there were many other disciples not enjoying the same fame, why must he just ask *Tse Kung*?

The Master said, "Admirable indeed was the virtue of *Hui*!"<sup>3</sup> and further, "I have talked with *Hui* for a whole day, and he has not made any objection, as if he were stupid"<sup>4</sup> and, "Such was *Hui*, that for three months there would be nothing in his mind contrary to perfect virtue."<sup>5</sup> In all these three chapters *Hui* is praised directly, but not at the cost of any other person, why then must *Tse Kung* in one chapter serve to him as a foil?

Somebody might think that *Confucius* wanted to snub *Tse Kung*. At that time the fame of *Tse Kung* was greater than that of *Yen Hui*. *Confucius* apprehensive, lest *Tse Kung* should become too conceited and overbearing, wanted to humble him.

If his name ranked above that of *Hui*, it was a simple fact at that time, but not brought about by *Tse Kung's* endeavours to

<sup>1</sup> *Analects* V, 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Analects* XI, 10.

<sup>3</sup> *Analects* VI, 9.

<sup>4</sup> *Analects* II, 9.

<sup>5</sup> *Analects* VI, 5.

supersede his rival. How could the judgment of *Tse Kung* have affected the case? Even supposing that, in case *Yen Hui's* talents were superior to his, he had submitted of his own accord, there was no necessity for any snubbing. If *Tse Kung* could not know it himself, he would, notwithstanding anything *Confucius* might have said, have been convinced that the latter only wanted to humble him, and in that case questioning or no questioning would have neither humbled nor elated him.

*Tsai Wo* being asleep during the day time, the Master said, "Rotten wood cannot be carved; a wall of dirty earth will not receive the trowel. But what is the use of my reproving *Tsai Wo!*"<sup>1</sup>—For sleeping during the day *Tsai Wo* was reprimanded in this way.

Sleeping during day time is a small evil. Rotten wood and dirty earth are things in such a state of decay, that they cannot be repaired, and must be regarded as great evils. If a small evil is censured, as though it were a great one, the person in question would not submit to such a judgment. If *Tsai Wo's* character was as bad as rotten wood or dirty earth, he ought not to have been admitted to the school of *Confucius* nor rank in one of the four classes of disciples.<sup>2</sup> In case his character was good however, *Confucius* dealt too harshly with him.

"If a man is not virtuous, and you carry your dislike of him to extremes, he will recalcitrate."<sup>3</sup> The dislike shown by *Confucius* for *Tsai Wo* has been, so to say, too strong. Provided that common and ignorant people had committed some smaller punishable offence, and the judge condemned them to capital punishment, would they suffer the wrong, and complain of the injustice, or would they quietly submit, and consider themselves guilty? Had *Tsai Wo* been an ignorant man, his feelings would have been the same with those people guilty of some offence; being a worthy, he must have understood a reproof of *Confucius*, and have reformed at the slightest remark. An open word was sufficient

<sup>1</sup> *Analects* V, 9.

<sup>2</sup> The four classes into which the ten principal disciples of *Confucius* were divided according to their special abilities:—virtue, eloquence, administrative talents, and literary acquirements. *Tsai Wo* belongs to the second class of the able speakers together with *Tse Kung*. Cf. *Analects* XI, 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Analects* VIII, 10.

to enlighten him, whereas an exaggeration would have missed its mark. At the first allusion he would already have reformed. That however did not depend on the strength of the language used, but on *Tsai Wo's* ability to change.

The scheme of the "*Ch'un Ch'iu*" is to point out any small goodness, and to censure small wrongs.<sup>1</sup> But if *Confucius* praised small deserts in high terms, and censured trifling wrongs immoderately, would *Tsai Wo* having the scheme of the *Ch'un Ch'iu* in view agree with such criticism? If not, he would not accept it, and the words of *Confucius* would be lost.

The words of a Sage must tally with his writings. His words come from his mouth, and his writings are in his books, but both flow from the heart, and are the same in substance. When *Confucius* composed the "*Ch'un Ch'iu*" he did not censure small things, as if they were very important, but in reproving *Tsai Wo* he condemned a small offence in the same manner as an enormous crime. His words and his writings disagree. How should they convince a man?

The Master said, "At first my way with men was to hear their words, and to give them credit for their conduct. Now my way is to hear their words, and look at their conduct. It is from *Tsai Wo* that I have learnt to make this change."<sup>2</sup> That is from the time, when *Tsai Wo* was asleep in the day time, he changed his method of studying men. But one may well ask, how can a man's sleeping during the day time spoil his character, and how can a man of bad conduct become good by not sleeping day or night? Is it possible to learn anything about people's goodness or badness from their sleeping during the day time?

Amongst the disciples of *Confucius* in the four classes *Tsai Wo* took precedence over *Tse Kung*. If he was so lazy, that nothing could be made out of his character, how could he advance so far? If *Tsai Wo* reached such a degree of perfection notwithstanding his sleeping during the day, his talents must have been far superior to those of ordinary people. Supposing that he had not yet reached the goal, but was under the impression that he had done enough, he did not know better himself. That was a lack of knowledge, but his conduct was not bad. He only wanted some enlightenment, but to change the method of studying men for that reason was superfluous.

<sup>1</sup> This is professedly the aim of the "*Ch'un-ch'iu*" or "Spring and Autumn" Record, the only classical work, of which *Confucius* claims the authorship.

<sup>2</sup> *Analects* V, 9.

Let us assume that *Tsai Wo* was conscious of his deficiencies, but felt so exhausted, that he fell asleep during day time. That was a relaxation of his vital force. This exhaustion may increase to such a degree, that death ensues and not only sleep.<sup>1</sup>

As regards the method of judging human character by taking into consideration the actions, the words are disregarded, and by laying all stress on words, the conduct is left out of consideration. Now although *Tsai Wo* was not very energetic in his actions, his words were well worth hearing. There is a class of men who speak very well, but whose deeds are not quite satisfactory. From the time that *Tsai Wo* slept during the day, *Confucius* began to hear the words, and look at the conduct, and only in case they both corresponded, called a man virtuous. That means to say, he wanted a perfect man, but how does that agree with his principle that perfection must not be expected from one man?<sup>2</sup>

*Tse Chang* asked saying, "The minister *Tse Wén*<sup>3</sup> thrice took office, and manifested no joy in his countenance. Thrice he retired from office, and manifested no displeasure. He made it a point to inform the new minister of the way in which he had conducted the government;—what do you say of him?" The Master replied, "He was loyal."—"Was he benevolent?"—"I do not know. How can he be pronounced benevolent?"<sup>4</sup> *Tse Wén* recommended *Tse Yü* of *Ch'u* as his successor. *Tse Yü* attacked *Sung* with a hundred war-chariots, but was defeated and lost most of his men.<sup>5</sup> If *Tse Wén* was ignorant like that, how could he be considered benevolent?"—

My question is this. When *Tse Wén* recommended *Tse Yü*, he did not know him, but wisdom has nothing to do with virtue. Ignorance does not preclude benevolent deeds. There are the five virtues:—benevolence, justice, propriety, intelligence, and truth, but these five are separate, and not necessarily combined. Thus there are intelligent men, benevolent men, there are the well-mannered, and the just. The truthful must not always be intelligent, or the intelligent, benevolent, the benevolent, well-mannered, or the well-mannered, just. *Tse Wén's* intelligence was obfuscated by *Tse Yü*,

<sup>1</sup> *Tsai Wo* could no more be made responsible for his bodily weakness, than for his death.

<sup>2</sup> *Analects* XIII, 15 and XVIII, 10.

<sup>3</sup> A minister of the *Ch'u* State.

<sup>4</sup> *Analects* V, 18. The following words of *Confucius* are omitted in our *Analects*.

<sup>5</sup> This battle took place in 632 B.C. It is described in the *Tso-chuan* Book V, 27 (Duke *Hsi* 27th year).

but how did his benevolence suffer therefrom? Consequently it is not right to say, "How can he be pronounced benevolent?"

Moreover loyal means generous, and generosity is benevolence. *Confucius* said, "By observing a man's faults it may be known that he is benevolent."<sup>1</sup> *Tse Wén* possessed true benevolence. If *Confucius* says that loyalty is not benevolence, he might as well assert that father and mother are not the two parents, or that husband and wife are not a pair.

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The duke *Ai*<sup>2</sup> asked which of the disciples loved to learn. *Confucius* replied to him, "There was *Yen Hui*. He did not vent his anger on others, nor did he twice commit the same fault. Alas! his fate was short and he died; and now there is none. I have not yet heard of any one who loves to learn."<sup>3</sup>—

What was really the cause of *Yen Hui*'s death? It is, of course, attributed to his short fate, which would correspond to *Po Niu*'s sickness.<sup>4</sup> All living men have received their fate, which is complete, and must be clean.<sup>5</sup> Now there being the evil disease of *Po Niu*,<sup>6</sup> one says that he had no fate.<sup>7</sup> Those who remain alive, must have been endowed with a long fate. If a person has obtained a short fate, we should likewise say that he has no fate. Provided that heaven's fate can be short or long, it also must be good or bad. Speaking of *Yen Hui*'s short fate, one can speak likewise of *Po Niu*'s bad fate. Saying that *Po Niu* had no fate, one must admit that *Yen Hui* had no fate either. One died, the other was diseased; *Confucius* pitied them both, and called it fate. The thing which is derived from heaven is the same, but it is not given the same name, for which I do not see any apparent reason.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Analects* IV, 7.

<sup>2</sup> Duke *Ai* of *Lu*, 494-468 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> *Analects* VI, 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Analects* VI, 8.

<sup>5</sup> *Wang Ch'ung* understands by fate something material, not a decree. Cf. Chap. VII and VIII.

<sup>6</sup> Leprosy. Cf. I, p. 345.

<sup>7</sup> Fate is a pure substance pervading the body, which cannot excite a foul disease like leprosy.

<sup>8</sup> The entire polemic is against the expression "short fate" used by *Confucius*, who takes fate in the usual acceptation of decree, or appointment of heaven. *Wang Ch'ung* from his materialistic point of view argues, that fate is always complete and pure, and that there can be no long or short one. The premature death of *Yen Hui* and the disease of *Po Niu* are not fate at all.

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Duke *Ai* asked *Confucius* who loved to learn. *Confucius* replied, "There was *Yen Hui* who loved to learn, but now there is none. He did not vent his anger on others nor commit the same fault twice."—Why did *Confucius* say so?

There are those who presume that *Confucius* wished to add a criticism on Duke *Ai's* character, and that therefore he spoke of the venting of anger and committing faults twice. Sticking to the duke's inquiry, he gave him this reply, thereby at the same time censuring the duke's short-comings, but without committing himself.

However *K'ang Tse*<sup>1</sup> likewise asked about the love of learning, and *Confucius* in his answer also indicated *Yen Hui*.<sup>2</sup> *K'ang Tse* had his faults as well, why did *Confucius* not answer so as to reprove *K'ang Tse* too? *K'ang Tse* was not a sage, his doings were not without fault. In fact *K'ang Tse* was distressed about the number of thieves. *Confucius* replied, "If you, sir, were not covetous, although you should reward them to do it, they would not steal."<sup>3</sup> This shows that *K'ang Tse's* weak point was his covetousness. Why did not *Confucius* attack it?

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*Confucius* having visited *Nan Tse*, *Tse Lu* was displeased, on which the Master said, "If I have done a wicked thing, may Heaven fall down on me, may Heaven fall down on me!"<sup>4</sup>—

*Nan Tse* was the wife of Duke *Ling* of *Wei*.<sup>5</sup> She had invited *Confucius*. *Tse Lu* was displeased and suspected *Confucius* of having had illicite intercourse with her. In order to exculpate himself *Confucius* said, "If I have done any thing disgraceful, may Heaven crush me." To prove his perfect sincerity he swore that he did not deceive *Tse Lu*.

I ask:—by thus exonerating himself, does *Confucius* really clear himself? If it had happened once that Heaven fell down, and killed people for having perpetrated any disgraceful act, *Confucius* might allude to, and swear by it. *Tse Lu* would most probably believe him then, and he would be whitewashed. Now, nobody has ever

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<sup>1</sup> The head of the *Chi* family in *Lu*.

<sup>2</sup> *Analects* XI, 6

<sup>3</sup> *Analects* XII, 18.

<sup>4</sup> *Analects* VI, 26.

<sup>5</sup> A most disreputable woman, guilty of incest with her half-brother, Prince *Chou* of *Sung*. The commentators take great pains to whitewash *Confucius*, who called upon this unworthy princess. What induced her to invite the Sage, and him to accept the invitation, is not known. Various conjectures have been put forward.

been crushed by Heaven. Would therefore *Tse Lu* believe in an oath to the effect that Heaven might fall down on him?

It happens sometimes that a man is killed by lightning, drowned by water, burned by fire, or crushed by the tumbling wall of a house. Had *Confucius* said "May the lighting strike me, the water drown me, the fire burn me, or a wall crush me," *Tse Lu* would undoubtedly have believed him, but instead of that he swore before *Tse Lu* by a disaster, which has never before happened. How could this dispel *Tse Lu's* doubts, and make him believe?

Sometimes people are crushed while asleep, before they awake. Can we say that Heaven crushed them? All those who are crushed in their sleep, before they awake, have not of necessity done some dishonest deed. Though not far advanced in philosophy, yet *Tse Lu* knew how to distinguish the truth of a thing. *Confucius* swearing by something unreal *Tse Lu* would assuredly not have got rid of his doubts.

*Confucius* asserted that life and death were fate, and that wealth and honour depended on Heaven.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly human life can be long or short, which has nothing to do with human actions, goodness or badness. In fact *Yen Hui* died prematurely, and *Confucius* spoke of his short fate.<sup>2</sup> Are we entitled to conclude therefrom that people whose fate is short and who die young, must have done something wrong?

Although *Tse Lu* was not yet very proficient in philosophy, yet from the words of *Confucius* he knew the real meaning of life and death. *Confucius* swore that, if he had done anything dishonest, Heaven might crush him instead of telling *Tse Lu* that he was only under the rule of fate, for how could Heaven fall down upon him and kill him, before the appointed time of his death had come? Thus on taking his oath before *Tse Lu* that Heaven might crush him, he could not expect to find credence, and in that case the exculpation of *Confucius* would have been no exculpation.

The *Shu-king*<sup>3</sup> says, "Be not as arrogant as *Tan Chu*,<sup>4</sup> who only liked to saunter idly about." Thus the Emperor *Shun* admonished *Yü* not to treat an unworthy son like a son, and to pay attention to the commands of Heaven. He was alarmed, lest *Yü* should be partial to his son, therefore he adduced *Tan Chu* as an example calculated to deter him. But *Yü* replied:<sup>5</sup>—"I had my marriage

<sup>1</sup> Cf. I, p. 316.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. I, p. 331.

<sup>3</sup> *Shu-king*, *Yi-chi*, Pt. II, Bk. IV, I (*Legge Vol. III, Pt. I*, p. 84).

<sup>4</sup> *Yao's* son.

<sup>5</sup> *Shu-king loc. cit.*

on the *hsing*, *jen*, *kwei*, and *chia* days. When the cries and whines of my son were first heard, I did not treat him like my son." He related something that had happened, from the past forecasting the future, and deducting what could not be seen from that which was apparent. Thus he demonstrated that he would not venture to show partiality for an unworthy son. He did not say:—"May Heaven fall down on me," knowing very well that common people in swearing like to invoke Heaven.

When *Tse Lu* suspected the actions of *Confucius*, the latter did not refer to his conduct in the past to prove that he had done nothing reproachable, but said that Heaven might crush him. How does he differ from common people, who for the purpose of dispelling a doubt will solemnly protest by Heaven?

*Confucius* said:—"The phoenix does not come; the River sends forth no Plan:—it is all over with me!"<sup>1</sup>

The Master felt distressed that he did not become emperor. As emperor he would have brought about perfect peace. At such a time the phoenix would have made its appearance, and the Plan would have emerged from the Yellow River.<sup>2</sup> Now he did not obtain imperial authority, therefore there were no auspicious portents either, and *Confucius* felt sick at heart and distressed. Hence his words:—"It is all over with me!"

My question is:—Which after all are the necessary conditions preceding the appearance of the phoenix and the Plan of the River, which though fulfilled, did not bring about their arrival?<sup>3</sup> If it be perfect peace, it may be urged that not all the emperors, under whose reign perfect peace prevailed, attracted the phoenix or the Plan of the River.

The Five Emperors and the Three Rulers<sup>4</sup> all brought about perfect peace, but comparing their omens, we find that they had not all the phoenix as an indispensable attribute. During the time of perfect peace the phoenix is not a necessary omen. That *Confucius*, a sage, should have longed so much for something that was not at all indispensable, and that he worried himself, is not right.

<sup>1</sup> *Analects* IX, 8.

<sup>2</sup> On the Plan of the Yellow River *vid.* II, p. 75 Note 1.

<sup>3</sup> In the case of *Confucius*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. I, p. 318.

Somebody might object that *Confucius* did not sorrow, because he was not appointed emperor, but that, when he felt so sad, there was no wise ruler, and that therefore he did not find employment. The phoenix and the Plan of the River are omens of a wise ruler. As long as they are absent, there is no wise ruler, and without a wise ruler *Confucius* had no chance of finding employment.

How are these auguries called forth? By appointing wise and able men the government is set right, and great success obtained. Then the omens appear. After they have made their appearance, there is no further need for a *Confucius*. Why has *Confucius* only the end in view?<sup>1</sup> He does not think of the first steps,<sup>2</sup> and solely sees the end, does not assist a king as minister, but speaks of those portents.<sup>3</sup> The government not being in order, those things, of course, do not become visible.

To conclude from their arrival that there must be a wise ruler, would also be a mistake. The emperor *Hsiao Wén Ti*<sup>4</sup> deserved the name of a wise ruler, yet in his annals<sup>5</sup> we find nothing about a phoenix or the Plan of the River. Had *Confucius* lived under *Hsiao Wén Ti* he would likewise have complained:—"It is all over with me!"

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The Master was expressing a wish to live among the Nine Wild Tribes of the east. Some one said, "They are brutish. How can you do such a thing?" The Master said, "If a superior man dwelt among them, what brutality would there be?"<sup>6</sup>

*Confucius* felt annoyed, because his doctrine did not find its way into China. This loss of his hopes roused his anger, and made him wish to emigrate to the Wild Tribes. Some one remonstrated, asking, how he could do such a thing, since the savages were brutish and unmannerly. To which *Confucius* retorted by saying, "If a superior man dwelt among them, what brutality would there be?", which means to say that, if a superior man were

<sup>1</sup> The time when the lucky omens become visible.

<sup>2</sup> The steps to secure a wise government and perfect peace, which must have been successful, ere the phoenix and the Plan will come forward.

<sup>3</sup> Wishing to behold those auspicious portents, *Confucius* ought first to have instituted an excellent administration, as minister of the reigning sovereign. He sees the result, but overlooks the causes.

<sup>4</sup> The *Han* emperor whose reign lasted from 179-156 B.C.

<sup>5</sup> In the *Shi-chi*.

<sup>6</sup> *Analects* X, 13.

living among them and imparting his doctrine, there would be no more rudeness.

How did *Confucius* conceive the idea of going to the Nine Tribes?—Because his doctrine did not spread in China, he wished to go there. But if China was no field for it, how could it have spread among the savages? “The rude tribes of the east and north with their princes are still not equal to China without princes.”<sup>1</sup> That shows that things which are easily managed in China are very difficult among the savages. Can then something which has failed, where everything is easy, be carried through, where everything is difficult?

Furthermore, *Confucius* said, “If a superior man dwelt among them, how came one to speak of brutality.” Does that mean that the superior man keeps his culture for himself, or that he imparts it? Should he keep it closed up in his bosom, he might do that in China as well, and need not go to the savages for that purpose. If, however, he should instruct the savages in it, how could they be taught?

*Yü* visited the State of the Naked People. He was naked himself, while he stayed with them, and only when he left, he put on his clothes again. The habit of wearing clothes did not take root among the wild tribes. *Yü* was unable to teach the Naked People to wear clothes, how could *Confucius* make superior men of the Nine Tribes?

Perhaps *Confucius*, as a matter of fact, did not wish to go to the wild tribes after all, but grieved that his doctrine was not accepted, he merely said so in angry mood. Or, when some one remonstrated, he knew pretty well that the wild tribes were barbarians, but nevertheless he said, “What brutality would there be?”, insisting on having his own way and warding off the attack of his interlocutor. If he really did not want to go, but said so out of disgust, he did not tell the truth. “What the superior man requires, is just that in his words there may be nothing incorrect.”<sup>2</sup> If *Confucius* knew that the wild tribes were uncivilized, but at all costs insisted on being right, this was like the discussion of *Tse Lu* with *Confucius* about *Tse Kao*.

*Tse Lu* got *Tse Kao*<sup>3</sup> appointed governor of *Pi*.<sup>4</sup> The Master said, “You are injuring a man’s son.” *Tse Lu* replied, “There

<sup>1</sup> *Analects* III, 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Analects* XIII, 3.

<sup>3</sup> The disciple *Kao Tse Kao*.

<sup>4</sup> A city in *Shantung*.

are the spirits of the land and grain, and there are the people. Why must one read books, before he can be considered to have learned?" The Master said, "It is on this account that I hate your glib-tongued people."<sup>1</sup>

*Tse Lu* knew that one must not give an inconsiderate answer in order to have one's own way. *Confucius* was displeased with him, and compared him with those glib-tongued people. He likewise knew the impropriety of such replies, but he and *Tse Lu* gave both glib-tongued answers.

*Confucius* said, "*Tse*<sup>2</sup> did not receive<sup>3</sup> Heaven's decree, but his goods are increased by him, and his calculations are generally correct."<sup>4</sup>

What does he mean by saying that *Tse* did not receive Heaven's decree? One might suppose that he received the fate that he should become rich, and by his own method knew beforehand, what was going to happen, and in his calculation did not miss the right moment. Now, does wealth and honour depend on Heaven's appointment or on human knowledge? In the first case nobody could obtain them by his own knowledge or cleverness, if, on the other hand, men were the chief agents, why does *Confucius* say that life and death are fate, and wealth and honour depend on heaven?<sup>5</sup>

If we admit that wealth can be acquired by knowing the proper way without receiving Heaven's decree, then honour also can be won through personal energy without fate. But in this world there is nobody who has won honour quite by himself without a heavenly order to that effect. Hence we learn that we cannot acquire wealth by ourselves, unless we have received Heaven's order.

<sup>1</sup> *Analects* XI, 24.

<sup>2</sup> *Tse Kung*.

<sup>3</sup> We must translate here "receive," and not "acquiesce," as *Legge* does, relying on the commentators. "Acquiesce" gives no sense here, as can be seen by comparing *Hutchinson's* translation, *China Review* Vol. VII, p. 169. Moreover, "receive" is in accordance with *Wang Ch'ung's* system. Throughout his work he speaks of "receiving the fate." *Hutchinson* has felt, that "receive" is the proper word here—*vid. his note to p. 170 loc. cit.*—but is overawed by *Legge* and the commentators. We must bear in mind that *Wang Ch'ung* very frequently puts another construction on the words of the Sage than other commentators.

<sup>4</sup> *Analects* XI, 18.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. I, p. 316.

In fact *Confucius* did not acquire wealth and honour. He wandered about, hoping that his services would be required. Having exhausted all his wisdom in remonstrating with the princes and being at his wits' end, he went home, and fixed the text of the *Shiking* and the *Shuking*. His hopes were gone, and expectations he had none. He said that it was all over with him,<sup>1</sup> for he was well aware that his destiny was not to be rich and honoured, and that all his travels could not supply this want. *Confucius* knew that he had not received the destiny of a man who will become exalted, and that searching for honour on his travels, he would never find it. Yet he maintained that *T'se* was not destined to be rich, but acquired wealth by his astuteness. The words and the actions of *Confucius* disagree, one does not know why.

Some say that he wished to attack the faults of *Tse Kung*, who did not care much for the right doctrine or virtue, but only for the increase of his wealth. *Confucius* therefore reproved his fault, wishing to induce him to comply entirely, and to change his conduct. Combating *Tse Kung's* shortcomings he might say that he did not love the doctrine or virtue, but only his wealth, but why must he assert that he had not received the fate, which is in opposition to his former utterance that wealth and honour depend on Heaven?

When *Yen Yuan* died, the Master said:—"Alas! Heaven is destroying me! Heaven is destroying me!"<sup>2</sup>

This means that, when a man is to rise, Heaven gives him a support, whereas, when his destruction is impending, he deprives him of his assistance. *Confucius* had four friends, by whom he hoped to rise,<sup>3</sup> but *Yen Yuan* died prematurely. Therefore his exclamation:—"Heaven is destroying me!"

One may ask:—Did *Yen Yuan* die, because *Confucius* did not become an emperor, snatched away by Heaven, or did he die an untimely death of himself, his allotted span being so short?—If he died prematurely, because his appointed time was short, he was bound to die, and even if *Confucius* had become an emperor, he would not have remained alive.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> *Analects* XI, 8.

<sup>3</sup> These four friends were: *Yen Yuan*, *Tse Kung*, *Tse Chang*, and *Tse Lu*, all his disciples.

The support of a man is like a stick, on which a sick person is leaning. A sick man requires a stick to walk. Now, let the stick be shortened by cutting off a piece, can we say then that Heaven compelled the sick man not to walk any more? If he could rise still, could the short stick be lengthened again? *Yen Yuan's* short life is like the shortness of the stick.

*Confucius* said that Heaven was destroying him, because *Yen Yuan* was a worthy.<sup>1</sup> But worthies in life must not necessarily act as supporters of somebody, just as sages do not always receive Heaven's special appointment. Among the emperors there are many who are not sages, and their ministers are very often not worthies. Why? Because fate and externals<sup>2</sup> are different from man's talents. On this principle it was by no means certain that *Yen Yuan*, had he been alive, would have become the supporter of *Confucius*, or that by his death he ruined *Confucius*. What proof had the latter then for his assertion that Heaven was destroying him?

What was Heaven's idea after all that it did not make *Confucius* emperor? Did it not appoint him, when he received his life and his fate, or was it going to appoint him, but repented afterwards? If originally he was not appointed, what harm could be done by *Yen Yuan's* death? If he was first chosen for the imperial dignity, and this scheme was abandoned later on, no externals came into question, and the decision rested solely with Heaven. And then which good acts of *Confucius* did Heaven see to make him emperor, and which bad ones did it hear subsequently, that it changed its mind, and did not invest him? The Spirit of Heaven must have erred in his deliberations and not have made the necessary investigations.

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When *Confucius* went to *Wei*, the funeral rites of a former land-lord of his were just going on there. He stepped into the house and wept, and, when he came out, he ordered *Tse Kung* to unharness one outside horse, and give it as a present. *Tse Kung* remarked:—"At the death of your disciple, you did not unharness a horse, but do it now for an old land-lord. Is that not too much?"

<sup>1</sup> As a worthy, a degree of excellence next to sagehood, he would have assisted *Confucius* in his brilliant career.

<sup>2</sup> In externals *viz.* the osseous structure and the physiognomy of an individual his fate becomes manifest. Cf. Chap. XXIV. But fate by no means corresponds to talents and virtue.

*Confucius* replied, "When I just now went in, I wept, and overwhelmed with grief, went out, and cried. I cannot bear the idea that my tears should not be accompanied by something. Therefore, my son, do as I told you."<sup>1</sup>

*Confucius* unharnassed his horse, and gave it away for the old lodging-house keeper, because he could not bear the thought that his feelings should not be accompanied by some act of courtesy. Along with such feelings politeness must be shown. When his feelings are touched, a man is moved to kindness. Courtesy and emotion must correspond. A superior man at least will act in that way.

When *Yen Yuan* died, the Master bewailed him, and was deeply moved. His disciples said to him:—"Master, you are deeply moved." He replied:—"If I were not deeply moved at this man's demise, at whose should I be?"<sup>2</sup>

Such deep emotion is the climax of grief. Bewailing *Yen Yuan* his emotion was different from that of all the other pupils. Grief is the greatest sorrow.—When *Yen Yuan* died, his coffin had no outer shell. *Yen Lu*<sup>3</sup> begged the carriage of the Master to sell and get an outer shell for the coffin, but *Confucius* did not give it, because a high officer could not walk afoot.<sup>4</sup> Mourning over the old lodging-house keeper, he unharnassed a horse to give it away as a present, because he did not like that his tears should not be accompanied by some gift. Bewailing *Yen Yuan* he was deeply moved, yet, when asked, he declined to give his carriage away, so that his emotion had no counterpart in his actions. What difference is there between tears and emotion, or between a horse and a carriage? In one case politeness and sentiment were in harmony, in the other kindness and right feeling did not correspond. We do not see clearly what *Confucius'* ideas about politeness were.

*Confucius* said, "There was *Li*; when he died, he had a coffin, but no outer shell. I would not walk on foot to get a shell for him."<sup>5</sup>—The love for *Li* must have been deeper than that for *Yen Yuan*. When *Li* died, he got no shell, because it was not becoming for a high officer to walk on foot. *Li* was the son of *Confucius*, *Yen Yuan* bore another surname. When the son died, he did not receive that present, how much less had a man of another name a right to it?

<sup>1</sup> Quotation from the *Li-ki*, *T'an Kung I* (Legge's transl. Vol. I, p. 136).

<sup>2</sup> *Analects XI*, 9.

<sup>3</sup> The father of *Yen Yuan*.

<sup>4</sup> *Analects XI*, 7.

<sup>5</sup> *Loc. cit.*

Then this would be a proof of the real kindness of *Confucius*. If he showed himself affectionate towards his old land-lord, whereas his kindness did not extend to his son, was it perhaps, because previously he was an inferior official, and afterwards a high officer? When he was an inferior official first, as such he could ride in a carriage with two horses, as a high officer he would drive with three. A high officer could not do without his carriage and walk on foot, but why did he not sell two horses to get a shell, and drive with the remaining one? When he was an official, he rode in a carriage with two horses, and parted with one for the sake of the old lodging-house keeper. Why did he not part with two now to show his kindness, only keeping one to avoid walking on foot?

Had he not given away one horse as a present for the old lodging-house keeper, he would not have transgressed any statute, but by burying his son with a coffin, but without a shell he committed an offence against propriety, and showed a disregard for custom. *Confucius* attached great importance to the present, which he was kind enough to make to the old man, and treated the funeral ceremonies for his son very lightly. Honour was shown to a stranger, but the rites were neglected in the case of his own son. Since *Confucius* did not sell his carriage to get a shell for *Li*, he cannot clear himself of the reproach of being an office-hunter, who was afraid of being without his carriage. And yet he has maintained himself that a superior man "will even sacrifice his life to preserve his virtue complete."<sup>1</sup> Could it then be so difficult to give up one's dignity in order to preserve propriety?

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*Tse Kung* asked about government. The Master said, "The requisites of government are that there be a sufficiency of food, a sufficiency of military equipment, and the confidence of the people in their ruler."

*Tse Kung* said, "If it cannot be helped, and one of these must be dispensed with, which of the three should be foregone first?" "The military equipment" said the Master.

*Tse Kung* again asked, "If it cannot be helped, and one of the remaining two must be dispensed with, which of them should be foregone?" The Master answered: "Part with the food. From of old, death has been the lot of all men; but if the people have no faith in their rulers, there is no standing for the State."<sup>2</sup>—Faith is the most important of all.

<sup>1</sup> *Analects* XV, 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Analects* XII, 7.

Now, if a State has no food, so that the people must starve, they care no more for propriety and righteousness. Those being neglected, how can confidence still be maintained?

It has been said that, as long as the granaries are full, people observe the rules of propriety, and that, while they have sufficiency of clothing and food, they know what honour and shame is. Charity is the upshot of abundance, and mutual fighting the result of privation. Now, provided that there is nothing to live on, how could faith be preserved?

During the *Ch'un-ch'iu* period the contending States were famine-stricken. People changed their sons in order to eat them, and broke their bones for fuel to cook with.<sup>1</sup> Starving and without food, they had no time to trouble about kindness or justice. The love between father and son is based on faith, yet in times of famine faith is thrown away, and the sons are used as food. How could *Confucius* tell *Tse Kung* that food might be foregone, but that faith ought to be preserved? If there is no faith, but food, though unsought, faith will grow, whereas, if there is no food, but faith, it cannot be upheld, though we may strive for it.

When the Master went to *Wei*, *Jan Yu*<sup>2</sup> acted as driver of his carriage. The Master observed, "How numerous are the people!" *Jan Yu* said:—"Since they are so numerous, what more could be done for them?"—"Enrich them," was the reply.—"And when they have been enriched, what more could be done?"—The Master said:—"Teach them."<sup>3</sup>—Speaking with *Jan Yu*, *Confucius* placed wealth first and instruction after, but he told *Tse Kung* that food might be dispensed with, provided there was faith. What difference is there between food and wealth, faith and instruction? Both scholars received different answers. The object prized most was not the same in both cases. The opinions of *Confucius* about political economy cannot have been very well settled.

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*Chü Po Yü*<sup>4</sup> sent a messenger to *Confucius*, who questioned him what his master was doing. The messenger replied, "My master is anxious to make his faults few, but cannot succeed."

<sup>1</sup> Cf. I, p. 339.

<sup>2</sup> A disciple of *Confucius*.

<sup>3</sup> *Analects* XIII, 9.

<sup>4</sup> A disciple of *Confucius* in *Wei*, with whom he lodged. After *Confucius'* return to *Lu*, he sent the messenger to make friendly inquiries.

He then went out, and *Confucius* said, "This messenger! This messenger!"<sup>1</sup>

This is a reproach. Those discussing the Analects hold that *Confucius* reproves him for his humility on behalf of another.<sup>2</sup>

*Confucius* inquired of the messenger what his master was doing, he asked about his business, not about his conduct. The messenger ought to have replied to this question of *Confucius*:—"My master does such and such a thing," or, "is occupied with such and such a government affair," instead of saying:—"My master is anxious to make his faults few, but cannot succeed." How do we know but that in his reply he missed the point of the question, and that it was to this that *Confucius* took exception? What did *Confucius* really reproach the messenger for? Because he spoke humbly on another's behalf, or because in his reply he missed the point?

The blame referred to something definite, but *Confucius* did not make clear his fault merely saying:—"This messenger! This messenger!" In later ages people began to have their doubts as to wherein the messenger had failed. *Han Fei Tse* says:—"If the style be too terse, it will prove a cause of dispute for the disciples." How concise is *Confucius'* remark:—"This messenger!"

Some say that the idea of the "Spring and Autumn"<sup>3</sup> was to keep a respectful silence on the faults of worthies, that *Chü Po Yü* was such a worthy, and that therefore the same practice was observed with regard to his messenger.

If one wants to know a person one must look at his friends, and to know a prince one must observe his messengers. *Chü Po Yü* was not a worthy, therefore his messenger had his faults. The idea of the "Spring and Autumn" was to cover the faults of worthies, but also to censure smaller misdemeanours.<sup>4</sup> Now, if no reproach was made, but silence kept, where would the censuring of minor offences come in? If *Confucius* was anxious to keep silence on *Chü Po Yü*, he ought to have kept quiet, but since he said with much pathos:—"This messenger! This messenger!", all his contemporaries must have understood the blame. How could such utterances serve the purpose of a respectful silence.

<sup>1</sup> *Analects* XIV, 26.

<sup>2</sup> This may have been the view of the old commentators at Wang Ch'ung's time. *Chü Hsi*, on the contrary, holds that the reply of the messenger was admirable, and that the laconic utterance of *Confucius* contains a praise, not a reproach.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 9 Note 1.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above p. 9.

*Pi Hsi*<sup>1</sup> inviting him to visit him, the Master was inclined to go, *Tse Lu* was displeased, and said:—"Master, formerly I have heard you say, 'When a man in his own person is guilty of doing evil, a superior man will not associate with him.' *Pi Hsi* is in rebellion, holding possession of *Chung-mao*; if you go to him, what shall be said?"—The Master said, "So it is. But is it not said that, if a thing be really hard, it may be ground without being made thin? Is it not said that, if a thing be really white, it may be steeped in a dark fluid without being made black?—Am I a bitter gourd? How could I be hung up and not eat?"<sup>2</sup>

*Tse Lu* quoted a former remark of *Confucius* to refute him. Formerly *Confucius* had spoken those words with the object of inducing his pupils to act accordingly. *Tse Lu* quoted it to censure *Confucius*. He was well aware of it, but did not say that his former words were a joke meaning nothing, which could be disregarded. He admitted that he had spoken those words, and that they must be carried out, but "is it not said," he continued "that, if a thing be really hard, it may be ground without being made thin, or if it be white, that it may be steeped in a dark fluid without being made black?" Could he invalidate *Tse Lu's* objections with these words? "When a man in his own person is guilty of doing evil, a superior man will not associate with him." To invalidate this objection *Pi Hsi* ought not yet to have committed any evil, so that one might still associate with him. However *Confucius* said that what was hard, might be ground without becoming thin, and what was white, might be steeped in a dark fluid without turning black. According to this argument those whose conduct was, so to speak, perfectly hard or perfectly white, might consort with *Pi Hsi*, but why not those superior men, whose ways are soft and easily tainted by wickedness?

*Confucius* would not drink the water from the "Robber Spring," and *Tséng Tse* declined to enter into a village called "Mother's Defeat."<sup>3</sup> They avoided the evil, and kept aloof from pollution, out of respect for the moral laws and out of shame at the disgraceful names. "Robber Spring" and "Mother's Defeat" were nothing but empty names, but nevertheless were shunned by *Confucius* and *Tséng Tse*. *Pi Hsi* had done some real wrong, yet

<sup>1</sup> A high officer in the service of the *Chao* family in the *Chin* State, who took possession of *Chung-mao*, a city in *Honan*, in the *Chang-té* prefecture, for himself.

<sup>2</sup> *Analects* XVII, 7.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Huai Nan Tse* XVI, 13 who adds that *Mé Ti*, who condemned music, would not enter into a city named "Morning Song."

*Confucius* intended visiting him. That he did not like the "Robber Spring" was correct, but that he wished to open up relations with *Pi Hsi* was wrong.

"Riches and honours acquired by unrighteousness are to me as a floating cloud."<sup>1</sup> If *Confucius*, who said so, had taken the wrong way, and lived on the salary paid him by a rebel, his words about floating clouds would have been futile.

Perhaps he wanted to propagate his doctrine for a time only. If that was his aim, he could meet the objections of *Tse Lu* by speaking of the propagation of his doctrine, but not by speaking of food. There might be allowed some time for the propagation of his doctrine, but there would be none for his outlook for food.

In the words:—"Am I a bitter gourd? How could I be hung up, and not eat" *Confucius* compares himself to a gourd, saying that being in office a man must live on his salary. "I am no gourd that might be hung up, and would require no food."<sup>2</sup> This is a rebuff to *Tse Lu*, but this rejoinder of *Confucius* does not dispose of *Tse Lu's* objection, for in criticising the master *Tse Lu* does not assert that he ought not to take office. But he should choose a proper State to live in. By the above comparison *Confucius* showed that his only wish was to comfortably eat his bread. How undignified is such an utterance! Why must he compare himself with an official who wants to eat? A gentleman must not speak like that.

It would make little difference, whether one speaks of being hung up like a gourd without eating, or of being hung up out of employ. In reply to *Tse Lu* he might have retorted "Am I a gourd to be hung up, and out of employ?" Now speaking of food *Confucius* admits that he sought office not for the sake of his doctrine, but merely to find food. In taking office the motive of men is their thirst for money, but giving it a moral aspect they say that they do it to propagate their principles. Likewise in marrying the motive is lust, but morally speaking it is to serve the parents. If an official bluntly speaks of his food, would a bridegroom also own to his sensuality?

The utterance of *Confucius* explains his feelings. The meaning is unmistakable, and not obscured by a well sounding moral name. It is very common, and unworthy of a superior man. The Literati

<sup>1</sup> *Analects* VII, 15.

<sup>2</sup> *Legge* and some commentators take the words 而不食 in a passive sense "How could I be hung up and not be eaten?" i.e. "not be employed."

say that *Confucius* travelled about to find employment, but did not succeed, and regretted that his doctrine did not spread. Methinks they misunderstand *Confucius'* character.

*Kung Shan Fu Jao*, when he was holding *Pi*,<sup>1</sup> and in an attitude of rebellion,<sup>2</sup> invited the Master to visit him, who was rather inclined to go. *Tse Lu* said:—"Indeed you cannot go! Why must you think of going to see *Kung Shan*!" The Master said, "Can it be without some reason that he has invited me? If any one employ me, may I not make an eastern *Chou*?"<sup>3</sup>—Making an eastern *Chou* means that he intended putting forth his doctrine.<sup>4</sup>

*Kung Shan Fu Jao* and *Pi Hsi* were both in rebellion. With the former he hoped to introduce his doctrine, whereas from the latter he expected food. So his utterances are wavering, and his actions are consequently inconsistent. Should this perhaps have been the reason of his migrations and his inability to find employment?<sup>5</sup>

"*Yang Huo* wanted to see *Confucius*, but he did not see him."<sup>5</sup> He offered him a post, but *Confucius* would not have it. That was disinterested indeed! When *Kung Shan Fu Jao* and *Pi Hsi* invited him, he was inclined to go. That was very base! *Kung Shan Fu Jao* and *Yang Huo* both rebelled, and kept *Chi Huan Tse* prisoner. They were equal in their wickedness, and both invited *Confucius* in the same polite way. However *Confucius* responded to *Kung Shan Fu Jao*'s call and did not see *Yang Huo*. Was *Kung Shan Fu Jao* still a fit person to associate with, and *Yang Huo* not? *Tse Lu* remonstrated against *Kung Shan Fu Jao*'s invitation. *Confucius* ought to have removed this objection by showing that he was as good at least as *Pi Hsi*, and that his character was not so very bad.

<sup>1</sup> A city in Shantung.

<sup>2</sup> *Kung Shan Fu Jao* and *Yang Huo* combined were holding their liege, Prince *Huan* of *Chi*, imprisoned, and trying to arrogate the supreme power of the State of *Lu*.

<sup>3</sup> *Analects* XVII, 5.

<sup>4</sup> The eastern *Chou* dynasty 770-255 owes its name to its capital *Lo-yi*, where it had removed from *Hao-ching* in the West (*Shensi*). The commencement of the Eastern *Chou*, prior to the civil wars, was felicitous.

<sup>5</sup> *Analects* XVII, 1.

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

Censures on Mencius (*T'se Mêng*).

[When *Mencius* went to see King *Hui* of *Liang*,<sup>1</sup> the king said, "You have not counted it far to come here, a distance of a thousand Li, Sir. By what could you profit my kingdom?"—*Mencius* replied, "I have nothing but benevolence and justice. Why must Your Majesty speak of profit?"<sup>2</sup>]

Now, there are two kinds of profit, the one consisting in wealth, the other in quiet happiness. King *Hui* asked, how he could profit his kingdom. How did *Mencius* know that he did not want the profit of quiet happiness, and straightway take exception to the profit by wealth?

The *Yiking* says, "It will be advantageous to meet with the great man."<sup>3</sup> "It will be advantageous to cross the great stream."<sup>4</sup>—"Chien represents what is great and originating, penetrating, *advantageous*, correct and firm."<sup>5</sup> And the *Shuking* remarks that the black-haired people still esteem profit.<sup>6</sup> They all have the profit of quiet happiness in view. By practising benevolence and justice, one may obtain this profit.

*Mencius* did not say that he inquired of King *Hui*, what he meant by profiting his kingdom. Had King *Hui* said:—"The profit of wealth," *Mencius* might have given him the proper answer. But though he did not know the purport of King *Hui*'s question, *Mencius* at once replied about the profit of wealth. Had King *Hui* really inquired about it, *Mencius* adduced nothing in support of his view. If, on the other hand, he had asked about the profit of quiet happiness, and *Mencius* in his reply had spoken about the

<sup>1</sup> *Mencius* I, Pt. I, 1. For the quotations from *Mencius* I adopt Legge's renderings, as far as possible.

<sup>2</sup> This interview took place in 335 b.c. *Liang* was the capital of the *Wei* State, the modern *K'ai-fêng-fu*.

<sup>3</sup> *Yiking* Bk. I, I, 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Yiking* Bk. I, V, 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Yiking* Bk. I, I, 1. Legge's translation (*Sacred Books of the East* Vol. XVI), p. 57 and 67.

<sup>6</sup> *Shuking* Pt. V, Bk. XXX, 6.

profit of wealth, he would have failed to give the prince the proper answer, and would not have acted in the proper way.

[The king of *Ch'i* asked *Shi Tse*<sup>1</sup> saying, "I wish to give *Mencius* a house, somewhere in the middle of the kingdom, and to support his disciples with an allowance of 10,000 *chung*,<sup>2</sup> that all the officers and the people may have such an example to reverence and imitate. Had you not better tell him this for me?" —*Shi Tse* conveyed this message to *Mencius* through *Ch'en Tse*.<sup>3</sup> *Mencius* said, "How should *Shi Tse* know that this cannot be? Suppose that I wanted to be rich, having formerly declined 100,000 *chung*, would my now accepting 10,000 be the conduct of one desiring riches?"]<sup>4</sup>

In declining 100,000 *chung* *Mencius* was wrongly disinterested, for wealth and honour is what man desires. Only he does not stick to them, if he cannot obtain them in the proper way.<sup>5</sup> Therefore in the matter of rank and salary an honest man sometimes declines, and sometimes not, but why should he reject a present, which he ought to have taken, on the plea that he does not covet wealth or honour?

[*Ch'en Chin*<sup>6</sup> asked *Mencius* saying, "When you were in *Ch'i*, the king sent you a present of 100 *yi*<sup>7</sup> of the double metal,<sup>8</sup> and you refused to accept it. When you were in *Sung*, 70 *yi* were sent to you, which you accepted; and when you were in *Hsieh*,<sup>9</sup> 50 *yi* were sent, which you likewise accepted. If your declining to accept the gift in the first case was right, your accepting it in the latter cases was wrong. If your accepting it in the latter cases was right, your declining to do so in the first case was wrong. You must accept, Master, one of these alternatives." —*Mencius* said, "I did right in all the cases. When I was in *Sung*, I was about to take a long journey. Travellers must be provided with what is necessary for their expenses. The prince's message was, 'A present to defray travelling expenses.' Why should I have declined the gift? When I was in *Hsieh*, I was apprehensive of my safety, and taking measures for my protection. The message was 'I have

<sup>1</sup> An officer of *Ch'i*.

<sup>2</sup> A *chung* is an ancient measure. As to its capacity opinions differ. 100 000 *chung* of rice was the customary allowance of a minister in a feudal State.

<sup>3</sup> A disciple of *Mencius*, his full name being *Ch'en Chin*. See below.

<sup>4</sup> *Mencius* II, Pt. II, 10.

<sup>5</sup> See above p. 4.

<sup>6</sup> The same as *Ch'en Tse*.

<sup>7</sup> One *yi* was about 24 taels.

<sup>8</sup> Double silver "worth twice as much as the ordinary" (*Legge*).

<sup>9</sup> A small principality in the south of *Shantung*.

heard that you are taking measures to protect yourself, and send this to help you in procuring arms. Why should I have declined the gift? But when I was in *Ch'i*, I had no occasion for money. To send a man a gift, when he has no occasion for it, is to bribe him. How is it possible that an honest man should be taken with a bribe?"]<sup>1</sup>

Whether money offered as a gift can be accepted or not, always depends on some reason. We are not covetous, if we accept it, nor are we not covetous, if we do not accept it. There are certain rules, why money can be taken, and why not, and there are likewise certain principles on which a house can be accepted or not. Now, *Mencius* does not say that he does not deserve it, and that it would not be right for him as a non-official to take the house, but he replies that he is not craving for wealth, and adduces the 100,000 *chung* which he had declined on a former occasion to draw a conclusion in regard to the subsequent 10,000 *chung*. Formerly he ought to have accepted the 100,000, how could he decline them?

[*P'eng Kéng*<sup>2</sup> asked *Mencius* saying, "Is it not an extravagant procedure to go from one prince to another, and live upon them, followed by several tens of carriages, and attended by several hundred men?"—*Mencius* replied, "If there be not a proper ground for taking it, a single bamboo-cup of rice may not be received from a man. If there be such a proper ground, then *Shun's* receiving the empire from *Yao* is not to be considered excessive."]<sup>3</sup>

How can the receiving of the empire from *Yao* be put on a level with the acceptance of 100,000 *chung*? *Shun* did not decline the empire, because there was a proper ground. Now *Mencius* does not contend that for receiving 100,000 *chung* there is no proper cause, but he says that he is not greedy of wealth and honour. That is not the right modesty, and it could not be an example for others.

\*[*Shén T'ung*,<sup>4</sup> on his own impulse, asked *Mencius*, saying, "May *Yen* be smitten?" *Mencius* replied, "It may. *Tse K'uei*<sup>5</sup> had

<sup>1</sup> *Mencius* II, Pt. II, 3.

<sup>2</sup> *P'eng Kéng* was a disciple of *Mencius*.

<sup>3</sup> *Mencius* III, Pt. II, 4.

<sup>4</sup> *Mencius* II, Pt. II, 8.

<sup>5</sup> A high officer of *Ch'i*.

<sup>6</sup> *Tse K'uei*, King of *Yen*, a silly man, had ceded his throne to his minister *Tse Chi-h*, hoping that the latter would decline the offer, but he unexpectedly accepted, and *Tse K'uei* lost his throne. During the troubles caused in *Yen* by *Tse K'uei's* son seeking to recover the kingdom, the *Ch'i* State made an unsuccessful attempt to conquer *Yen*. *Shén T'ung* had asked *Mencius'* advice about an invasion of *Yen*.

no right to give *Yen* to another man, and *Tse Chih* had no right to receive *Yen* from *Tse K'uei*. Suppose there were an officer here, with whom you, Sir, were pleased, and that, without informing the king, you were privately to give to him your salary and rank; and suppose that this officer, also without the king's orders, were privately to receive them from you:—would such a transaction be allowable? And where is the difference between the case of *Yen* and this?"

The people of *Chi* smote *Yen*. Some one asked of *Mencius*, "Is it really the case that you advised *Chi* to smite *Yen*?"—He replied, "No. *Shén T'ung* asked me, whether *Yen* might be smitten, and I answered him, 'It may.' They accordingly went and smote it. If he had asked me, 'Who may smite it?', I would have answered him, 'He who is the minister of Heaven'<sup>1</sup> may smite it.' Suppose the case of a murderer, and that one asks me, 'May this man be put to death?' I will answer him, 'He may.' If he ask me, 'Who may put him to death?' I will answer him, 'The chief criminal judge may put him to death.' But now with one *Yen*<sup>2</sup> to smite another *Yen*—how should I have advised this?"]

One might ask whether *Mencius* did not really advise the king to smite *Yen*. When *Shén T'ung* inquired, whether *Yen* could be smitten, he had his own designs, and wished to smite it himself. Knowing that he would be very pleased with the reply, *Mencius* ought to have answered that, although *Yen* could be smitten, it could not be done but by the minister of Heaven. Then *Shén T'ung*'s plans would have collapsed, and his intention of smiting *Yen* been given up. If *Mencius* was not aware of these designs, and straightway made a reply, he did not pay attention to what he said, and did not understand words.

[*Kung Sun Ch'ou*<sup>4</sup> inquired of *Mencius*, "I venture to ask wherein you, Master, excel?" *Mencius* replied, "I understand words."—The other pursued, "And what do you mean by saying that you understand words?" *Mencius* said, "When words are one-sided, I know how the mind of the speaker is clouded over; when they are extravagant, I know how the mind is fallen and sunk; when they are depraved, I know how the mind has departed from principle, and when they are evasive, I know how the mind

<sup>1</sup> A man entrusted by Heaven with the execution of its designs.

<sup>2</sup> The one *Yen* is *Chi*, which was not better than *Yen*, and therefore not fit to punish *Yen* as Heaven's delegate.

<sup>3</sup> *Mencius* II, Pt. I, 2.

<sup>4</sup> A disciple of *Mencius*.

is at its wits' end. These evils growing in the mind, do injury to government, and, displayed in the government, are hurtful to the conduct of affairs. Should a Sage again arise, he would undoubtedly follow my words."]

*Mencius* understood words and also knew, how a warning as to the catastrophe which *Shén T'ung* was bringing about, would after all have been to his benefit. From the nature of the question he must have known the desire implied in the words of *Shén T'ung*. Knowing his aims, he must have had an idea of the disaster, in which the thing was doomed to end.

*Mencius* said,<sup>1</sup> ["It would be for the happiness of the people of the whole empire. I hope that the king will change. I am daily hoping for this."]

Was the king whom *Mencius* left, the same on whom he did not wait at court formerly?<sup>2</sup> Why did he think so little of him first, and make so much of him afterwards? Had it not been the former king, he would not have abandoned him. If he quitted him later on, the second king must have been worse than the first. When he left the king, and stopped three days in *Chou*,<sup>3</sup> it was a less drastic measure than his not going to court, and staying with *Ching Ch'ou*.<sup>4</sup> Why was his behaviour not identical in the two instances? Why did he not treat the king in the same manner in both cases?

When *Mencius* was in *Lu*, Duke *P'ing* of *Lu* was about to pay him a call, but his favourite *Tsang Ts'ang* slandered *Mencius*, and stopped him. *Yo Cheng Tse*<sup>5</sup> told *Mencius* about it, who said,<sup>6</sup> ["A man's advancement is effected, it may be, by others, and the stopping him, may be, from the efforts of others. But to advance a man or to stop his advance is really beyond the power of men. My not meeting with the prince of *Lu* is from Heaven."]

<sup>1</sup> *Mencius* II, Pt. II, 12.

<sup>2</sup> The King of *Ch'i* wished *Mencius* to call on him at court, informing him, that he intended waiting upon *Mencius* himself, but had got a cold, and could not go out. *Mencius* knew this to be a pretence, and therefore declined to go to court on the pretence that he was unwell likewise. Cf. *Mencius* II, Pt. II, 2. The king and the philosopher were both too jealous of their dignity to get along well.

<sup>3</sup> A small place in *Ch'i*, where *Mencius* halted, expecting to be called back.

<sup>4</sup> An officer of *Ch'i*, with whom *Mencius* stayed, while the king was waiting for him, at the former occasion.

<sup>5</sup> A disciple of *Mencius*.

<sup>6</sup> *Mencius* I, Pt. II, 16.

First he did not find favour with the prince of *Lu* and afterwards with that of *Ch'i*. There was no difference. But in the first instance he held Heaven alone accountable, in the second, the king. There is no stability in his reasoning. When the king of *Ch'i* disdained his services, and he did not advance, some fellow like *Tsang Ts'ang* must have slandered him. That was likewise stopping or keeping back, but in both cases it was Heaven's decree that he should not find employment, and beyond the power of men. Why then did he still linger three days, when he left, and not go straight on? Provided it was the fate of Heaven that he should not meet with the king of *Ch'i*, who would not listen to his words, could Heaven have changed this fate within the space of three days, and bring about the interview? In *Lu* he gave all the credit to Heaven, abandoned his schemes, and lost all hope. In *Ch'i* he counted solely on the king, and was full of hopes. Thus the missing of one interview would have been merely the result of insinuations of men.

Some one may hold that Heaven's fate could not yet be settled first, and that for this reason *Mencius* hoped that within three days the king would call him back. This may be so, supposing that fate requires three days. But would, upon such a supposition, the fact that the king of *Ch'i* first allowed him to leave not be due to fate? If it was fate, and the limit three days, then Duke *P'ing* of *Lu* might as well after three days time have rejected *Tsang Ts'ang*'s proposal, and followed the advice of *Yo Cheng Tse*, and have called on *Mencius*. Wherefore was *Mencius* so hasty in attributing every thing to Heaven? Had the duke paid *Mencius* a visit within three days, how would the latter have justified his former utterance?

[When *Mencius* left *Ch'i*, *Ch'ung Yü*<sup>2</sup> questioned him on the way, saying, "Master, you look like one who carries an air of dissatisfaction in his countenance. But formerly I heard you say, 'The superior man does not murmur against Heaven, nor bear a grudge against men.'"]

*Mencius* said, "That was one time, and this is another. It is a rule that a true Imperial sovereign should arise in the course of five hundred years, and that during that time there should be some one illustrious in his generation. From the commencement of the *Chou* dynasty till now, more than 700 years have elapsed. Judging numerically, the date is passed. Examining the time, we might

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<sup>1</sup> *Mencius* II, Pt. II, 13.

<sup>2</sup> A follower of *Mencius*.

expect the rise of such individuals in it. But Heaven does not yet wish that the empire should enjoy tranquillity and good order. If it wished this, who is there besides me to bring it about? How should I be otherwise than dissatisfied?"—]

What proof is there for the assertion of *Mencius* that in the course of five hundred years a true emperor should arise? *Ti K'u* was such a sovereign, and *Yao* also ruled over the empire as a true sovereign. *Yao* transmitted the empire to *Shun*, who was likewise a true emperor. He transmitted the empire to *Yu*, who reigned in the same style. These four Sages were true Imperial sovereigns, but they followed one another quite closely.<sup>1</sup> From *Yu* to *T'ang* there is an interval of a thousand years and from *T'ang* to *Chou* also.<sup>2</sup> *Wén Wang* commenced the reign, and at his death handed it over to *Wu Wang*. When *Wu Wang* expired, *Ch'eng Wang* and *Chou Kung* together ruled over the empire. From the beginning of the *Chou* dynasty to the time of *Mencius* 700 years again had elapsed,<sup>3</sup> but no true emperor had arisen. In which period do we find then that in the course of five hundred years a true sovereign arises? Who has made this statement that there will be a true emperor every five hundred years? *Mencius* says something which has no foundation and no proof, and is based on some wild hypothesis. Not having found favour with the king, he left *Chi*, and wore a dissatisfied look. That does not show his wisdom, and places him on a level with ordinary scholars.

Five hundred years is considered the period in which Heaven produces a Sage. Moreover, *Mencius* says that Heaven did not yet wish that the empire should enjoy tranquillity and good order. His idea is that, when Heaven is willing to bless the empire with tranquillity and good order, it must produce a wise emperor in the course of five hundred years. According to what *Mencius* says, Heaven produces a Sage on purpose. But are five hundred years

<sup>1</sup> *Wang Ch'ung* omits *Ti Chih*, who followed his father *Ti K'u*. Owing to his dissolute life, he was dethroned, and his brother *Yao* was elected in his place.

<sup>2</sup> Those are rather round numbers. According to the common chronology *Yu* reigned from 2205-2197, *T'ang*, the founder of the *Shang* dynasty from 1766-1753, and the *Chou* dynasty commenced in 1122. *Wu Wang*'s reign lasted from 1122-1115, *Ch'eng Wang*'s from 1115-1078. All these rulers are regarded by the Chinese as true emperors. The interval between *Yu* and *T'ang* is about 400 years, that between *T'ang* and *Wén Wang* about 600 years. It is difficult to understand why *Wang Ch'ung* in both cases speaks of a thousand years. The remark of *Mencius* that every five hundred years a true sovereign arises, comes much nearer the truth.

<sup>3</sup> About 800 years in fact after the usual chronology. The Bamboo Annals reduce this space to about 700 years.

really the period within which it produces a Sage? If so, why did Heaven not send the Sage forth?—Because it was not the time for a wise emperor to arise, therefore Heaven did not produce him. Since *Mencius* believes in it nevertheless, he does not know Heaven.

From the commencement of the *Chou* dynasty upwards of seven hundred years had elapsed. "Judging numerically, the date, therefore, was passed, but examining the time, it might be possible." What signifies that the date is passed, and what, that it is possible? Date is equivalent to time, and time to date. The date being passed, five hundred years are passed. From the beginning of the *Chou* epoch up to that time upwards of seven hundred years had elapsed i. e. two hundred years in excess. Should an emperor arise then, he would already have missed the proper time. Yet *Mencius* avers that considering the time, it might be possible. What does that mean?

He says that in the course of five hundred years a true Imperial sovereign should arise, and further that during that time there should be some one illustrious in his generation. Is this somebody the same as the emperor or some one else? If he is, why mention him a second time, if not, what sort of man is it who is illustrious in his generation? Suppose the answer be:—"men like *Confucius* and scholars like *Mencius*, who will instruct the youth, and awaken the dullards and imbeciles," then *Confucius* has already lived, and *Mencius* himself also has been born. Should we say:—"wise ministers," they must live contemporaneously with a wise ruler, and a wise minister appear, when a wise emperor arrises.

*Mencius* speaks of five hundred years, but why does he say "during that time?" If he does not mean the space of five hundred years, but the time between, he must think of two or three hundred years. Then a Sage could not work together with a wise emperor arrising after five hundred years, whom then has *Mencius* in view, saying that during that time there should be some one illustrious in his generation? "Heaven," says he, "does not yet wish that the empire should enjoy tranquillity and good order. If it wished this, who is there besides me to bring it about?" By these words *Mencius* does not intend saying that he himself ought to be emperor, but that, if there were an emperor, he would act as his minister. Whether there be an emperor and a minister, depends on Heaven. When fate did not allow the empire to enjoy tranquillity and good order, *Mencius* did not acquiesce with a good grace in *Chi*, but resented it, and wore a dissatisfied look. That was very wrong of him.

[*P'êng Kêng* asked *Mencius* saying, "Is it proper that a scholar doing no service should receive support?" — *Mencius* answered, "If you do not have an intercommunication of the productions of labour, and an interchange of men's services, so that one from his overplus may supply the deficiency of another, then husbandmen will have a superfluity of grain, and women will have a superfluity of cloth. If you have such an interchange, carpenters and carriage-wrights may all get their food from you. Here now is a man, who, at home, is filial, and abroad, respectful to his elders; who watches over the principles of the ancient kings, awaiting the rise of future learners—and yet you will refuse to support him. How is it that you give honour to the carpenter and carriage-wright, and slight him who practises benevolence and righteousness?"

*P'êng Kêng* said, "The aim of the carpenter and carriage-wright is to seek for a living. Is it also the aim of the superior man in his practice of principles thereby to seek for a living?" — "What have you to do," returned *Mencius*, "with his purpose? He is of service to you. He deserves to be supported, and should be supported. And let me ask, 'Do you remunerate a man's intention, or do you remunerate his service?'" To this *P'êng Kêng* replied, "I remunerate his intention."

*Mencius* said, "There is a man here, who breaks your tiles, and draws unsightly figures on your walls;—his purpose may be thereby to seek for his living, but will you indeed remunerate him?" — "No," said *P'êng Kêng*; and *Mencius* then concluded, "That being the case, it is not the purpose which you remunerate, but the work done." —]

*Mencius* referred to the breaking of tiles and disfiguring of walls with the object of impugning the remarks of *P'êng Kêng*, knowing very well that he who breaks tiles or disfigures walls does no services, but has a purpose, and that *P'êng Kêng* under no circumstances would support him. However, with this reference to the breaking of tiles and disfiguring of walls *Mencius* cannot refute *P'êng Kêng*, because people acting in this way do not belong to those who are seeking a living. Such being the case, this argument cannot be put forward against *P'êng Kêng*. People who, without a reason, are breaking tiles and disfiguring walls, are either mad, or merely playing. The purpose of madmen is not to seek a living, and those who are disporting themselves, have not this intention either.

<sup>1</sup> *Mencius* III, Pt. II, 4.

From those who seek a living a great many persons have no advantage whatever. Therefore those wishing to support themselves sell things in the market as merchants, and live on the price which they receive in exchange for their wares. Now, the breakers of tiles and scribblers profit nobody, and cannot have this intention. Reasonable persons know that such acts would profit nobody, and consequently desist therefrom. The unreasonable are akin to madmen, and certainly would not have that purpose.

Those who break tiles and disfigure walls, are like boys throwing mud on the road, or is there any difference? When they are dumping mud on the road, have they the intention of seeking a living thereby?—They are still children, and have no purpose.

When old folks are playing, they behave like those who are disfiguring walls. Have players the intention to seek a living? Players rob each other of their money. When the sums won are very high, they may be used as a livelihood, and eventually there may be this intention.

People who throw stones and leap over them, are also very much alike to those scribblers. Is the intention of those stone-throwers and jumpers directed to their living? In short, the criticisms brought forward by *Mencius* against *P'êng Kêng* are not very thorough. If *P'êng Kêng* trusted in *Mencius'* words, we may say that the latter "put him off with great smartness of speech."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>[*K'uang Chang Tse*<sup>3</sup> said, "Is not *Ch'en Chung Tse*<sup>4</sup> a man of true self-denying purity? He was living in *Wu-ling*,<sup>5</sup> and for three days was without food, till he could neither hear nor see. Over a well grew a plum tree, the fruit of which had been more than half-eaten by worms. He crawled to it, and tried to eat some of the fruit, when, after swallowing three mouthfuls, he recovered his sight and hearing."

*Mencius* replied, "Among the scholars of *Ch'i*, I must regard *Ch'en Chung Tse* as the thumb among the fingers. But still, where

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<sup>1</sup> A quotation from *Analects* V, 4, where *Confucius* condemns such smartness of speech.—*Wang Chung* is much smarter here than *Mencius*. The arguments of *Mencius* are quite right, and *Wang Chung* only takes exception at the example adduced by him, which indeed is not very lucky.

<sup>2</sup> *Mencius* III, Pt. II, 10.

<sup>3</sup> A grandee of the State of *Ch'i*.

<sup>4</sup> A recluse.

<sup>5</sup> A poor place in modern *Chi-nan-fu* (*Shantung*).

is the self-denying purity he pretends to? To carry out the principles which he holds, one must become an earth-worm, for so only can it be done."

"Now, an earthworm eats the dry mould above, and drinks from the yellow spring-water below. Was the house in which *Ch'en Chung Tse* dwelt built by a *Po Yi*,<sup>1</sup> or was it built by a robber like *Ch'e*?<sup>2</sup> Was the millet which he ate planted by a *Po Yi*, or was it planted by a robber like *Ch'e*? These are things which cannot be known."

"But," said *K'uang Chang Tse*, "what does that matter? He himself weaves sandals of hemp, and his wife twists hempen thread, to barter them."

*Mencius* rejoined, "*Ch'en Chung Tse* belongs to an ancient and noble family of *Ch'i*. His elder brother *Tai* received from *Ko* a revenue of 10,000 *chung*,<sup>3</sup> but he considered his brother's emolument to be unrighteous, and would not live on it, and in the same way he considered his brother's house to be unrighteous, and would not dwell in it. Avoiding his brother and leaving his mother, he went and dwelt in *Wu-ling*. One day afterwards, he returned to their house, when it happened that some one sent his brother a present of a live goose. He, knitting his brows, said, 'What are you going to use that cackling thing for?'—By-and-by his mother killed the goose, and gave him some of it to eat. Just then his brother came into the house, and said, 'It's the flesh of that cackling thing,' upon which he went out and vomited it.—Thus, what his mother gave him he would not eat, but what his wife gives him he eats. He will not dwell in his brother's house, but he dwells in *Wu-ling*. How can he in such circumstances complete the style of life which he professes? With such principles as *Ch'en Chung Tse* holds, a man must be an earth-worm, and then he can carry them out.]

*Mencius* in reprobating *Ch'en Chung Tse* does not hit his weak point. When *Ch'en Chung Tse* showed such a disgust for the goose, that he felt like vomiting, was it, because he would eat nothing that came from his mother? Previously already he had expressed his displeasure at the goose saying, "What are you going to use that cackling thing for?" When, later on, his mother had killed it, and gave him some to eat, and his brother remarked, "It's the flesh of that cackling thing," he felt ashamed that he was acting

<sup>1</sup> The exemplar of purity cf. I, p. 348 Note 2 and below p. 44.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. I, p. 319.

<sup>3</sup> See above p. 28 Note 2.

contrary to what he had said before, and vomited it. Had his brother not reminded him, he would not have vomited, and he would then have eaten what his mother offered him. Therefore to say that he would not eat anything coming from his mother conveys a wrong idea.

Suppose that *Ch'en Chung Tse* was determined not to eat anything from his mother, he ought not to have eaten of the dish of the goose, when it was brought. Now, after he had eaten it, and learned that it was the goose, he felt so disgusted, that he vomited it. Thus the vomiting was the effect of his being ashamed that he had eaten something in opposition to his determination, it was no want of affection between mother and son, nor a desire to eat nothing that came from his mother.

"But still where is the self-denying purity *Ch'en Chung Tse* pretends to? To carry out his nature, one must become an earth-worm, for so only can it be done. An earth-worm eats the dry mould above, and drinks from the yellow spring-water below." That would mean that an earth-worm is a paragon of purity, and that, unless he was like an earth-worm, he could not be pure and undefiled.<sup>1</sup> Now, provided the house he was dwelling in was built by *Po Yi*, and the millet he ate planted by *Po Yi*, his dwelling and eating would be unstained purity. But perhaps he ate millet sown by robber *Ch'e*, or lived in a cottage constructed by robber *Ch'e*, then this circumstance would contaminate his purity. These strictures on *Ch'en Chung Tse* are not to the point either.

A house is built for man's sake to be lived in, and sandals and thread are bartered against millet. If it really was planted by a robber, or the house his building, at all events *Ch'en Chung Tse* had no cognisance of it. His brother's unrighteousness, however, was apparent from his conduct. All saw his actions; they were quite notorious and commented upon. Hence *Ch'en Chung Tse* retired to *Wu-ling*. He did not stop in his brother's house, and by the weaving of sandals and twisting of thread obviated the necessity of living on his salary. If *Ch'en Chung Tse* stayed in *Wu-ling*, he shunned the house of that brother, and vomited his food. Because

<sup>1</sup> This seems not to have been the idea of *Mencius*. The *tertium comparationis* is not the purity of the earth-worm, but its independence and self-sufficiency. Having its earth to eat and some muddy water to drink, it has no further needs, as man has, who is never quite independent of others. Unless he break off all intercourse with his fellow-creatures, he cannot avoid all pollution. Thus the commentators and *Legge* understand the passage. *Wang Ch'ung's* interpretation is forced.

these things could be heard with the ear and seen with the eye, and were so public, that there could be no doubt, it is evident that as a fact *Ch'én Chung Tse* neither stayed with his brother nor partook of his meals.

Now he had not seen who was the builder of his own house in *Wu-ling*, nor did he know who planted the millet. But how could he take the house, when it was just completed, or eat the millet, when it was just reaped? These criticisms of *Mencius* go too far.

The house where *Ch'én Chung Tse* was living, may perhaps have been built by the robber, so that *Ch'én Chung Tse* would have dwelt there without knowing it. Now *Mencius* contends that "to carry out the principles which he holds, one must become an earth-worm, for so only can it be done." But in the earth underneath the house of the robber there are also earth-worms. They eat the dry mould in the robber's house and drink from the yellow spring-water there. How then would an earth-worm meet the requirements? To carry out the principles of *Ch'én Chung Tse* to the satisfaction of *Mencius* one ought to be like a fish. A fish swims in the river or the sea, and feeds upon their earth. No robber can dig through the sea, or heap up its earth.

*Ch'én Chung Tse* has done a great wrong, but the adverse comments of *Mencius* do not hit it. *Ch'én Chung Tse* left his mother, and avoided his elder brother, to take up his solitary abode in *Wu-ling* together with his wife. Because the house of his brother was an unrighteous house, and his income an unrighteous income, he did not care to stay and live with him, which was the height of self-denying purity. However, when after his emigration to *Wu-ling* he returned to wait upon his mother, it was his duty to abstain from eating anything and leave again. When the goose was brought in, there must have been other food besides, all prepared by his mother. This food was bought with his brother's money, for it was evident that his mother had not her own private millet which she could have offered him. Then *Ch'én Chung Tse* partook of his brother's salary.

*Po Yi* rather than eat the millet of *Chou*<sup>1</sup> died of starvation below *Shou-yang*.<sup>2</sup> Would a meal of the millet of *Chou* have defiled his purity? *Ch'én Chung Tse* was not like *Po Yi*, but he came very

<sup>1</sup> The *Chou* dynasty which *Po Yi* regarded as usurpers of the throne of the legitimate emperors of the house of *Shang*.

<sup>2</sup> A mountain in *Shensi*.

near him. Saying that one must become an earth-worm to carry out those principles, *Mencius* uses a comparison which does not justice to *Ch'én Chung Tse* at all.

<sup>1</sup>[*Mencius* said, "There is a destiny for every thing. Those who act as they ought, receive the natural destiny.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, he who has the true idea of destiny, will not stand beneath a precipitous wall. Death sustained in the discharge of one's duties, is the natural destiny. Death under handcuffs and fetters is not the natural destiny."<sup>3</sup>]

The meaning of these words of *Mencius* is that a man should not run counter to his allotted fate. Through fair conduct he obtains the natural destiny, whereas with recklessness and perversity he does not receive the natural one. Accordingly Heaven's decree would depend on human actions.<sup>4</sup>

*Confucius*<sup>5</sup> did not become an emperor, *Yen Yuan* died prematurely, *Tse Hia*<sup>6</sup> lost his eye-sight, *Po Niu*<sup>6</sup> got leprosy. Was the conduct of these four men not fair? Why did they not receive the right destiny? *Pi Kan*<sup>7</sup> was disemboweled, *Tse Hsü*<sup>8</sup> was cooked, *Tse Lu*<sup>9</sup> pickled. These were the most cruel modes of death on earth, otherwise painful than handcuffs and fetters. If handcuffs and fetters are really proving that the destiny of the person in question is not the right one, then the conduct of *Pi Kan* and *Tse Hsü* was not fair.

Man receives his destiny, and may be doomed to be crushed to death, or to be drowned, or to be killed in battle, or to be burned. He may be ever so conscientious in his dealings and careful in his doings, it is of no avail.

*Tou Kuang Kuo* was sleeping with a hundred persons below a mound of charcoal.<sup>10</sup> The charcoal collapsed, and all the hundred

<sup>1</sup> *Mencius* VII, Pt. I, 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Legge* understands this passage differently.

<sup>3</sup> *Wang Ch'ung* denotes by *natural* destiny something different from what *Mencius* expresses by it, which explains his polemic. *Wang Ch'ung's* natural destiny is not influenced by human actions, whereas the natural, right, or correct destiny of *Mencius* is the upshot of proper conduct. Cf. I, p. 318.

<sup>4</sup> *Vid.* I, p. 349.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. I, p. 344.

<sup>6</sup> On *Yen Yuan* and *Po Niu* see I, p. 345.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. p. 94 Note 6.

<sup>8</sup> *Tse Hsü* or *Wu Tse Hsü*, the same as *Wu Yuan* I, p. 320.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. I, p. 345.

<sup>10</sup> *Vid.* I, p. 359.

people were killed, only *Tou Kuang Kuo* was saved, because it was his destiny to be made a marquis. What difference is there between the heaped up charcoal and the precipitous wall? Provided that one is not doomed to be crushed, there may be a collapse, those who have the fate of *Tou Kuang Kuo* will escape withal. "A man's advancement may be effected by others, and the stopping him may be from the efforts of others."<sup>1</sup> He who is to be crushed, may perhaps be induced to stand below a wall.

The son of the landlord into whose cottage *K'ung Chia*<sup>2</sup> entered, was predestinated to a premature death and meanness. Though he was introduced into the palace, he still became a door-keeper. The not standing below a precipitous wall has the same result as *K'ung Chia's* carrying the child into the palace.

<sup>1</sup> *Mencius* I, Pt. II, 16.

<sup>2</sup> During a tempest the *Hsia* emperor *K'ung Chia*, 1879-1848 B.C., sought shelter in a cottage. The landlord imagined that the visit of the son of heaven was a lucky augury for his son, and that no misfortune would befall him in future. Yet this son, later on, doing carpenter's work, accidentally broke his axe, and cut off his two legs. He then became a doorkeeper, the only office for which he was still fit (*Lü Shih ch'un-chiu*).

## CHAPTER XXXV.

Strictures on Han Fei Tse (*Fei Han*).

*Han Fei Tse's*<sup>1</sup> system consists in propounding the law and making much of success. Worthies who do not benefit the State, he will not reward, and bad characters who do not interfere with the administration, he does not punish. He grants rewards as an incentive to extraordinary actions, and he relies so much on criminal law, that he makes use of capital punishment. When speaking of the Literati, he says that they eat, but do not sow, and likens them to voracious grubs.<sup>2</sup> Discussing the question of usefulness, he compares them with a deer and a horse. A horse resembling a deer fetches a thousand *chin*.<sup>3</sup> There are horses on earth worth so much, but no deer costing a thousand *chin*. Deer are useless, horses are useful. The Literati are like the deer, the active officials like the horse.<sup>4</sup>

*Han Fei Tse* knows very well how to make use of the parable of the deer and the horse, but not that of the cap and the shoe. Provided that *Han Fei Tse* presented himself at court only in his shoes and without a cap, I would listen to his words. But he will appear at court with his cap on his head. He uses a useless article of dress, and thereby increases the number of the useless scholars. His words do not agree with his dress, and there is a want of harmony between his theory and his practice. Therefore I condemn his words, and reject his method.

There is nothing more trying to the body of an individual and less profitable to it than kneeling and prostrating one's self. If *Han Fei Tse*, when meeting any one, does not make obeisance, and in the presence of his sovereign or his father does not show his respect, he does not do any harm to his body, but these ceremonies must be gone through out of respect for one's parents.

<sup>1</sup> On the Taoist philosopher *Han Fei Tse* see I, p. 350.

<sup>2</sup> In Chapt. 19, No. 49, p. 1 of *Han Fei Tse's* work. The chapter is entitled the: "Five kinds of voracious grubs."

<sup>3</sup> An ancient coin or a monetary unit whose value is doubtful.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Han Fei Tse* XIII, 5v.

These rules of propriety are very important and cannot be neglected. While they are being observed by any one, his body does not become fat thereby, and when he disregards them, his body does not become weak nor decay.

If he speaks of utility, then propriety and righteousness are not like eating and drinking. Would *Han Fei Tse*, in case he was granted the privilege of eating in the presence of his sovereign or his father, dare to do so without first bowing? Such a homage shown to a superior would be a manifestation of propriety and righteousness, but no benefit to the body. Yet after all *Han Fei Tse* would not do away with it, nor would he reject propriety and righteousness in view of a temporary profit. The Literati are propriety and righteousness, the agriculturists and warriors are eating and drinking. He who exalts agriculture and war, and despises the men of letters, would reject propriety and righteousness, and seek eating and drinking.

When propriety and righteousness are neglected, the moral laws lose their force, there is confusion in the higher and the lower spheres, and the *Yin* and the *Yang* principles become disorganized. The dry and the wet seasons do not come in proper time then, the grain does not grow, and the people die of starvation. The agriculturists have nothing to till, and the soldiers can do no fighting.

[*Tse Kung* desired to abolish the sacrificial sheep announcing the new moon. *Confucius* said, " *Tse*, you care for the sheep, I care for propriety."] *Tse Kung* disliked to immolate the sheep, whereas *Confucius* apprehended a disregard of propriety.

If old dykes are removed as useless, an inundation will be the necessary consequence, and if the old ceremonies are abolished as good for nothing, one may be sure of a revolution. The Literati in this world are the old dykes of propriety and righteousness. When they are there, they are of no direct use, but their absence is fatal.

From olden times schools have been erected, where the foundation is laid for power and honour. Officials have been appointed, and officers nominated. The officials cannot be suppressed, and the true doctrine cannot be rejected. The Literati are the officers in charge of the true principles. If they are considered to be useless and therefore suppressed, the true principles are lost simultaneously. These principles bring about no direct results, but man requires them for his achievements.

<sup>1</sup> *Analects* III, 17.

When the foot walks on a path, this trodden path must not walk itself. The body has hands and feet; to move they require what remains unmoved. Thus things are perhaps useless, but the useful ones require them, they themselves have no direct effect, yet to those which have they are indispensable. Peasants and soldiers stand in need of the Literati, how could they be rejected and not be retained? *Han Fei Tse* denounces the scholars, saying that they are no use, and only do harm. He has in view the vulgar scholars, who do not exert themselves, nor in their dealings take account of propriety. They are scholars by name only, but by practice vulgar persons. They profess true science, but what they say is wrong, and they are hunting after official honours and titles. Consequently they cannot be held in esteem. Those who have a pure heart and whose conduct does not shun the light, do not strive for rank and emoluments. They would repudiate the position of a minister or a secretary of State, as if they were throwing away an old boot. Although they have not the same success as those who hold office and fill a post, their domain is propriety and righteousness. That which preserves a State, is propriety and righteousness. If the people do not practice these two virtues, they will overthrow the State and ruin their prince.

Now, the scholars do pay regard to propriety, and love justice. In so far as they become the leaders of those fellows who are devoid of propriety, and incite those lacking justice, people do good, and learn to love their sovereign. That is also an advantage.

Upon hearing of the fame of *Po Yi*<sup>1</sup> the greedy became disinterested, and the weak, resolute, and hearing of the renown of *Liu Hsia Hui*<sup>2</sup> the narrow-minded became generous, and the mean, liberal. The conversion was more extraordinary than had ever been witnessed by man before. *Tuan Kan Mu* closed his door and did not go out. Prince *Wén* of *Wei* used to bow, when passing his house, to show his respect. When the army of *Ch'in* heard of it, they suddenly did not invest *Wei*.<sup>3</sup> Had *Wei* not had *Tuan Kan Mu*, the soldiers of *Ch'in* would have invaded its territory and made a waste of it, for *Ch'in* was a powerful country, whose soldiers were ever victorious. Had they been let loose upon *Wei*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. I, p. 348 Note 2.

<sup>2</sup> The posthumous designation of *Chan Huo*, 6th and 7th cent. B.C., who was magistrate of the *Liu-hsia* district in *Lu* and famous for his virtue.

<sup>3</sup> *Ch'in* desisted from its invasion of *Wei* in 399 B.C., because the *Wei* State was so flourishing under the Marquis *Wén*, who honoured the worthies and literati. *Vid. Shu-chi* chap. 44, p. 3v.

the kingdom of *Wei* would have gone to pieces. Its three armies would have been defeated, and the blood would have run over a thousand Li. Now a scholar closeted in his house and honoured by *Wén* of *Wei*, averted the troops of powerful *Ch'in* and saved the land of the *Wei* kingdom. His deserts in succouring the three armies could not have been greater, and nobody was worthier of a reward.

In *Chi* there were living two scholars of the highest standard, called *K'uang Chüeh* and *Hua Shih*, two brothers. In their stern justice they did not bend their will, and refused to serve him whom they did not regard as their master. When *T'ai Kung*<sup>1</sup> was invested with *Chi*, he had the two men executed at the same time for inveigling the masses in *Chi*, setting them the example of not taking service with their ruler. *Han Fei Tse* approves of this on the ground that the two scholars were of no use and doing mischief.<sup>2</sup> However, *K'uang Chüeh* and *Hua Shih* were of the same type as *Tuan Kan Mu*. When *T'ai Kung* put them to death, no disaster had yet happened which they might have averted. The marquis *Wén* of *Wei* honoured *Tuan Kan Mu*, and subsequently he warded off powerful *Ch'in* and rescued *Wei*, a deed unparalleled forsooth. If *Han Fei Tse* acknowledges the high standard of *Tuan Kan Mu*, who shut himself up, and also admits that *Wén* of *Wei* was justified in honouring him, he is all right. But the conduct of *K'uang Chüeh* and *Hua Shih* was as virtuous as that of *Tuan Kan Mu*. Therefore it is wrong to approve of the penalty inflicted by *T'ai Kung*. Now, if *Han Fei Tse* disapproves of the conduct of *Tuan Kan Mu*, and objects to the marquis of *Wei* honouring him, it must be born in mind that *Tuan Kan Mu* by his conduct was very useful, and that the marquis of *Wei* honoured him on account of his merit. Thus *Han Fei Tse* would not reward merit, nor give credit to the useful.

Some one might urge that the respect shown by the marquis to the dwelling place of *Tuan Kan Mu* and the subsequent non-arrival of the troops of *Ch'in* is not the result of administration, but of a single act, which cannot be always repeated and which, though instrumental in saving the State, does not deserve so much praise. But what is to be understood by administration? The maintenance of troops, the promulgation of the edicts concerning

<sup>1</sup> Cf. I, p. 352. *T'ai Kung* was the first duke of *Chi*.

<sup>2</sup> *Han Fei Tse* XIII, 5 speaks only of *K'uang Chüeh* being put to death by *T'ai Kung*, not of *Hua Shih*.

rewards and punishments, a stern criminal law, a strict discipline, and measures to increase the national wealth and the military strength, all that is administration. Would *Ch'in* with her strength mind it? The Six<sup>1</sup> States were all wiped out by the troops of *Ch'in*. The soldiers of the Six States were courageous enough, and the onslaught of their armies not without vigour, yet not only did they not vanquish, but were utterly defeated at last, because they were not of equal force and inferior in numbers. Their administration might have been ever so evident, it was of no avail.

If boys annoyed *Méng Pén*<sup>2</sup> and, when he was roused to anger, would fight with him, sword in hand, they would certainly court defeat, being no match for him. Had the boys upon *Méng Pén* becoming angry, soothed him by great politeness and reverence, he would not have been capable of doing harm to them. *Ch'in*'s position towards *Wei* is analogous to that of *Méng Pén* and the boys. The administration of *Wei* would certainly not have frightened *Ch'in*, just as *Méng Pén* would not run away from the boys when wielding their swords. The honour and the respect shown to scholars and to the homes of worthies would be more than the politeness and reverence of the boys.

The weak will have recourse to virtue, whereas those who have a strong army, will use their power. Because *Ch'in* had such a strong army, nothing could withstand her power. If they held back their troops, and recalled their men, and did not infest *Wei*, it was out of respect for *Tuan Kan Mu* and as a mark of esteem for the marquis of *Wei*. The honouring of worthies is an administrative measure of weak States and a means to increase the might of the powerless. How can it be said that this is not the result of administration?

*Han Kao Tsu* had the intention to depose the heir-apparent. The empress *Lu Hou* in her distress summoned *Chang Tse Fang*<sup>3</sup> to ask his advice. *Chang Tse Fang* suggested that the crown-prince should reverently meet the Four Grey Beards,<sup>4</sup> and present them with rich gifts. When *Kao Tsu* saw this, he changed his mind, and the prince was saved. Had *Han Fei Tse* advised *Lu Hou*, that the best offensive were strong remonstrances, and the best defensive, energy, and that in this manner the prince would be safe, he

<sup>1</sup> See II, p. 59 Note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. II, p. 161 Note 4.

<sup>3</sup> The same as *Chang Liang*, the helpmate of *Han Kao Tsu*. Cf. II, p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Four recluses, who during the troubles attending the overthrow of the *Ch'in* dynasty had taken refuge into the mountains near *Hsi-an-fu*.

would, on the contrary, have brought about his own death, not to speak of his deposition. The deep reverence of the crown-prince towards the four old men changed *Hau Kao Tsu's* design. Just so the respect shown by the Marquis *Wén* of *Wei* to *Tuan Kan Mu's* home warded off the troops of powerful *Ch'in*.

The government of a State requires the cultivation of two things, of virtue and of strength. Virtue is cultivated by maintaining famous men, whereby one shows one's ability to honour worthies. Strength is developed by keeping strong men, which shows that one knows how to use soldiers. Then we may say that all the civil and military measures are in operation, and that virtue and strength are sufficient. In the international intercourse, a State may win the other side by virtue, or repel it by force. If, in its foreign relations, it makes virtue its basis, and at the same time keeps a strong force, those who esteem virtue, will be on good terms with it without fighting, whereas those who do not care for virtue, will keep aloof for fear of military complications.

King *Yen* of *Hsü*<sup>1</sup> practised benevolence and justice, and thirty-two States sent envoys to his court overland. When powerful *Ch'u* heard of this, it despatched its troops, and destroyed him. King *Yen* of *Hsü* possessed virtue, but had no strength in readiness. One cannot solely rely on virtue to govern a State, nor straight-way resort to force to ward off an enemy. In *Han Fei Tse's* system there is no room for the cultivation of virtue, whereas King *Yen* of *Hsü* did not rely on strength. Both their views were one-sided and contradictory. King *Yen* came to grief, because he was powerless, and we may be sure that *Han Fei Tse* would have to suffer for want of virtue.

Human nature is pure or impure, selfish or disinterested, and people act accordingly. In the same manner plants and trees consist of different substances, which cannot change again. *K'uang Chüeh* and *Hua Shih* did not take office in *Ch'i*, as *Tuan Kan Mu* did not become an official in *Wei*. Their nature was pure and unselfish, they did not long for wealth or honour, criticised their times, and disliked this world. Their sense of justice prevented

<sup>1</sup> From *Han Fei Tse* chap. 19, p. 2v. we learn that *Yen* was the sovereign of a small State covering 500 square li in *Han-tung* (*Hubei*). King *Wén* of *Ch'u*, 688-675 B.C., fearing the growing power of the virtuous *Yen*—*Han Fei Tse* speaks of 36 States which were allied to him—destroyed the *Hsü* State. *Huai Nan Tse* XIII, 14v. also refers to *Yen* and mentions that 32 States were his allies.

them from taking office inconsiderately. Even if they had not been executed, they would not have had followers. *T'ai Kung* put them to death, and *Han Fei Tse* thinks him quite right. But that would be denying that men have their special natures, and plants and trees their special substances.

*T'ai Kung* beheaded the two scholars. Provided that there were people like them in *Ch'i*, they would certainly not have desisted from purifying their hearts, because the two were put to death, and if there were none, no training would have made them such. *Yao* did not execute *Hsu Yu*,<sup>1</sup> yet the people of *T'ang*<sup>2</sup> did not all live in nests. *Wu Wang* did not kill *Po Yi*, yet the people of *Chou* did not starve in solitude, and, when Marquis *Wen* of *Wei* had honoured *Tuan Kan Mu's* dwelling-place, the people of *Wei* did not all close their doors. Consequently, even if *T'ai Kung* had not executed the two men, the people of *Ch'i* would not all have disdained the official career, for people cannot assume integrity and disinterestedness at will. What people are unable to do, they cannot be induced to do, and all training and exhorting is in vain. Conversely what they can do, they cannot be hindered from doing, even executions are no preventive. Therefore the execution of the two scholars by *T'ai Kung* was not calculated to bring about improvement, it was a useless murder of innocent persons.

*Han Fei Tse* would not approve of rewards without merit or of death without guilt. *T'ai Kung* killed innocent men, yet *Han Fei Tse* assents to it, ergo his theory admits the assassination of the innocent. Those who persist in not taking office, have not necessarily some real guilt, yet *T'ai Kung* put them to death. If people, who had become officials, had no merit, would *T'ai Kung* be willing to reward them? Rewards must be given to merit, and punishment meted out to the guilty. If *T'ai Kung* did not reward officials without merit, then his execution of innocent men, who did not want to become officials, was unjust. *Han Fei Tse's* approval is a mistake.

Moreover, people who do not become officials generally have an unselfish character and few desires, whereas those who would like to take office, are greedy of profit. As long as desires and the thought of gain are not ingrafted in one's heart, one looks upon rank and salary as dung and dirt. The disinterested are

<sup>1</sup> A legendary hermit of the time of the emperor *Yao*, reported to have lived in a nest in a tree.

<sup>2</sup> *Yao's* principality.

extremely thrifty, the extravagance of the ambitious knows no bounds, and therefore their desires do not even recoil from their sovereign. Among the rebelling officials of ancient times those with pure and unselfish motives have been very few. The ambitious will make themselves conspicuous, and the haughty will risk their lives. For all the laurels won they aspire to a great reward, and in their immoderation covet princely dignity.

*T'ai Kung* left his system behind, and subsequently *Ch'i* was the scene of the violent murder perpetrated by the *Ch'en* family.<sup>1</sup> *T'ai Kung's* system led to robbery and murder. *Han Fei Tse* praises it, which shows that his own theory is also very dangerous. When *Chou Kung* heard of the execution of the two men by *T'ai Kung*, he expressed his disapproval, and did not think him right.<sup>2</sup> Personally he took gifts and condescended to present them to scholars living in poor huts.<sup>3</sup> These scholars living in poor huts were like the two men. *Chou Kung* honoured them, and *T'ai Kung* put them to death. Whose action was the right one?

In *Sung* there was a charioteer. A horse refused to go on. He thereupon drew his sword, cut its throat, and threw it into a ditch. He then tried another horse, which also would not go. Again he cut its throat, and threw it into a ditch. This he repeated thrice. It was a very strong measure to break the obstinacy of horses, but it was not the way of *Wang Liang*. When he stepped into a carriage, there was no horse stubborn or restive. During the reign of *Yao* and *Shun*, the people were not rebellious. *Wang Liang* knew how to touch the hearts of the horses, just as *Yao* and *Shun* influenced the popular feelings.

Men have the same nature, but there are different kinds of horses. *Wang Liang* could manage these different kinds, whereas *T'ai Kung* could not get along with scholars, who were all of the same nature. *Chou Kung's* kindness towards the poor scholars corresponds to *Wang Liang's* horse-breaking. *T'ai Kung's* execution of the two scholars is like the throat-cutting of the man of *Sung*.

If *Han Fei Tse* were called upon to decide between the methods of *Wang Liang* and the man of *Sung*, he would certainly be in favour of *Wang Liang* and against the man of *Sung*. *Wang Liang* preserved the horses, the man of *Sung* destroyed them. The de-

<sup>1</sup> In 481 B.C. *Ch'en Heng* alias *T'ien Ch'eng Tse* murdered the sovereign of *Ch'i*, a descendant of *T'ai Kung*. The *Ch'en* family had assumed the name *T'ien* in *Ch'i*. Cf. *Shi-chi* chap. 32, p. 24v. and chap. 36, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. *Han Fei Tse* XIII, 5.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. p. 98.

struction of horses is not as good as their preservation. Thus it is better that people should live than that they should die. Should *Han Fei Tse* be against *Wang Liang*, he would be on a level with the man of *Sung* by destroying good people. If he be against the man of *Sung*, it must be borne in mind that the latter's method is the same as that of *T'ai Kung*. By condemning the man of *Sung* and upholding *T'ai Kung*, *Han Fei Tse* would show that he cannot discriminate between right and wrong.

The government of a State is like governing an individual. If in governing an individual grace and virtue are seldom resorted to, but much bodily injury is inflicted, friends and partisans will make themselves scarce, lest disgrace should befall them. If the principles of governing an individual are extended to the government of a State, this government must be based on virtue. *Han Fei Tse* solely relies on criminal law to govern the world. That would mean that he who governs an individual, must trust to the infliction of injuries. Does *Han Fei Tse* not know that to place reliance on virtue is the best way?

He holds that the world is depraved, that things have changed for the worse, and that the general feelings are base and mean. Therefore in working out a system his only thought is penal law. However, the world is not deficient in virtue, as a year is not deprived of its spring. Would he who contends that owing to its depravity the world cannot be governed by virtue, assert also that a year full of troubles does not generate in spring?

A wise ruler governs a country as Heaven and Earth create all things. In a year of troubles they do not omit spring, and a wise ruler does not discard virtue, because the world is degenerated. *Confucius* said,<sup>1</sup> "Those people were the cause of the steady progress of the three dynasties!"<sup>2</sup>

The time of King *Mu* of *Chou*<sup>3</sup> can be called one of decay. He attempted to govern with criminal law, but the result was confusion, and no glory was won. The Marquis of *Fu* remonstrated with him, and the king became attached to virtue, and enjoyed

<sup>1</sup> *Analects* XV, 24.

<sup>2</sup> The depravity of the people cannot have been as great as *Han Fei Tse* presumed, for otherwise the progress made during the three dynasties:- *Hsia*, *Shang*, and *Chou* could not have been accomplished.

<sup>3</sup> 1001-946 B.C.

his kingdom for a long time. His deeds were handed down to posterity. King *Mu's* administration first led to disorder, but at last to order, not because his mind was beclouded first, and his talents came forth later on, but because he at first relied on *Ch'ih Yu's*<sup>1</sup> criminal law, and only subsequently followed the advice of the Marquis of *Fu*. In governing individuals, one cannot do without mercy, in governing a State one cannot neglect virtue, and in creating things spring cannot be left out. Why does *Han Fei Tse* wish to rely on law and capital punishment alone?

<sup>2</sup>[Duke *Mu* of *Lu*<sup>3</sup> asked *Tse Sse*<sup>4</sup> saying, "I have heard that *P'ang Hsien* is no filial son. How is his unfilial conduct?"

*Tse Sse* replied, "A prince honours the virtuous to exalt virtue, and raises the good to admonish the people. As regards faults, only common people know about that, not I."

When *Tse Sse* had left, *Tse Fu Li Po* saw the prince, who questioned him about *P'ang Hsien's* filial conduct also. *Tse Fu Li Po* rejoined, "Your Highness has not yet heard about all his misdeeds."

Afterwards the prince held *Tse Sse* in esteem and despised *Tse Fu Li Po*.] When *Han Fei Tse* heard of it, he censured duke *Mu* on the ground that a wise ruler ought to search for scoundrels and punish them. *Tse Sse* would not speak about rascality, which *Tse Fu Li Po* did. Therefore, in *Han Fei Tse's* belief, the latter deserved honour, and the former contempt. Since Duke *Mu* esteemed *Tse Sse* and despised *Tse Fu Li Po*, he did not divide honour and contempt in the right way, hence *Han Fei Tse's* adverse criticism.

*Han Fei Tse* lays the greatest stress upon administration. If a man does good, the administration rewards him, if he does evil, it punishes him. Even if good and evil do not transpire, they fall under strict rules. Yet merely hearing of a bad deed, one cannot punish at once, as hearing of a good one, one cannot rashly reward it. It is therefore not in keeping with the theory of *Han Fei Tse* to blame a man for not having denounced wickedness.

<sup>1</sup> A legendary person said to have lived at the time of the Emperor *Huang Ti*. He rebelled against the latter, and was defeated. Some say that he was a prince, others that he was a minister of *Huang Ti*.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted with some slight alterations from *Huai Nan Tse* chap. 16, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> 408-375 B.C.

<sup>4</sup> His full name is *K'un-y Tse Sse* or *K'ung Chi*, the grandson of *Confucius*, to whom the *Chung-yung*, the "Doctrine of the Mean" is ascribed.

Suppose *Han Fei Tse* heard of a good action, he would certainly make investigations first and, in case some merit were brought to light thus, he would grant a reward. Upon the mere news of some good deed, one does not reward indiscriminately, for not every remark is reliable. Therefore it makes no difference, whether we hear of good actions or not. Hearing of goodness, one does not rashly reward, and upon hearing of wickedness, one does not punish forthwith. Hearing of goodness, one must first investigate, and hearing of badness, one must make inquiries. Provided some merit is discovered, then a reward may be given, and, if there is evidence, a penalty may be determined. Rewards and punishments are not given upon mere hearsay or vague appearances, before the truth is found out, and as long as they are not given, goodness and badness are not determined. Therefore there must be a method to establish them, and it is not right to require that one must have heard the thing with one's own ears.

<sup>1</sup>[*Tse Ch'an* of *Chéng*<sup>2</sup> went out one morning, and passed the house of *Tung Chiang*, where he heard the cries of his wife. He grasped the hand of his attendant, and listened. After a while, he directed his officers to arrest the woman, and sue her for having murdered her husband with her own hand.

The next day his attendant asked him, "Sir, how did you know all this?"

*Tse Ch'an* replied, "Her voice was not moved. When people learn that those they love dearly are sick, they become depressed, when death approaches, they get alarmed, and, after death, give vent to their grief. This woman bewailed her dead husband, but in lieu of being grieved she was frightened. Thence I knew that she had committed a crime."<sup>3</sup>]

*Han Fei Tse* expressed his disapproval and said<sup>3</sup>[, "Was not *Tse Ch'an* a busy body?"

If a crime could only be known, when we perceive it with our own eyes or ears, very few cases would be disclosed in *Chéng*. And would it not be a lack of method, if the city police could not be trusted to possess the necessary insight for examining the conduct of the smaller congregations of the community, and if one had to use all own's intelligence and mental power to discover such cases?"]

<sup>1</sup> *Han Fei Tse* chap. 16, p. 5. The text slightly differs.

<sup>2</sup> *Tse Ch'an* is the style of *Kung Sun Chiao*, a famous minister of the *Chéng* State, 581-521 B.C., who compiled a penal code.

<sup>3</sup> *Loc. cit.* p. 5v.

*Han Fei Tse* is justified in blaming *Tse Ch'an*, but he is wrong in his adverse comments on Duke *Mu*. The lack of grief of the woman is like the unfilial conduct of *P'ang Hsien*. *Han Fei Tse* objects to *Tse Ch'an* relying merely on his eyes and ears to get information about crimes, but, on the other hand, wishes that Duke *Mu* should have made inquiries to determine the guilt of *P'ang Hsien*. *Tse Ch'an* had no recourse to the city police, and determined the truth from what he heard. Duke *Mu* did not place confidence in the police either, and attained the same result by his inquiries. Hearsay and inquiries are about the same thing. Neither trusted the police, or made investigations among the citizens. From *Tse Fu Li Po's* answer it is impossible to learn the truth, just as from the crying of the woman one cannot arrive at a cogent conclusion. If under such circumstances one orders the officers to arrest and try a person, one cannot find out the truth thereby. But how is it possible not to order the officers to make investigations and to charge a person with a crime without any inquiries merely upon the word of *Tse Fu Li Po*?

*Han Fei Tse* says<sup>1</sup>, *Tse Sse* did not mention faults, and Duke *Mu* honoured him. *Tse Fu Li Po* spoke of crimes, and Duke *Mu* despised him. Human nature is such, that all people like honour and are displeased with contempt.

When the *Chi* family<sup>2</sup> made trouble, it was not brought to the knowledge of the sovereign, and consequently the princes of *Lu* were robbed of their power.] Were they robbed, because they did not make a wise use of the laws and administration or, because they did not hear of the wicked designs in time? If the administration is wisely organised, wickedness has no field where it might grow, although it be not heard of, whereas in case the administration is not wise, the searching after criminals is like digging a well, and then trying to stop it with one hand.

If a chariot-driver without a bridle sees a horse, it will run away, and he has no coercive means. Should, however, *Wang Liang*<sup>3</sup> have come near with reins in his hand, no horse would have had the desire to bolt. He knew the method of driving horses. Now, nothing is said about the princes of *Lu* having no method, but it is mentioned that they did not hear of the treason-

<sup>1</sup> *Han Fei Tse* chap. 16, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> During the 6th cent. B.C. the *Chi* family, a side branch of the ducal house of *Lu*, engrossed the power in *Lu* and almost superseded the reigning princes. *Confucius* openly condemned their usurpation. Cf. p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> See above p. 49.

able designs, nothing is said about their looking after the government, but it is emphasized that they did not understand the feelings of the people. *Han Fei Tse's* attack on Duke *Mu* does not tally with the tendency of his theory.

*Tse Sse* did not speak of *P'ang Hsien's* unfilial conduct, therefore Duke *Mu* honoured him. *Han Fei Tse* blames him, saying that "a wise ruler looks out for the good to reward and for rascals to punish them."<sup>1</sup>—Unfilial persons have a very limited intellect. For want of insight, they know no propriety, and follow their desires and propensities just like beasts and birds. One may call them bad, but to call them rascals is not correct. Rascals are good in outward appearance, but bad inwardly, or "they show a stern exterior, and are inwardly weak,"<sup>2</sup> and in their doings imitate the good to get on in their career. They smile to their superiors—how could they be unfilial?—but they do wicked things, which make them worthy of capital punishment. *P'ang Hsien* can be said to have been unfilial, but not a rascal. If *Han Fei Tse* calls him so, he ignores the true meaning of this word.

*Han Fei Tse* says:<sup>3</sup>—["If silk fabrics are so common, that ordinary people do not desire them, and if gold can be cast into a hundred coins without robber *Ché* snatching it away, then we can speak of a manifestation of law."] People do not dare to infringe it. If the law is manifest in a State, robbers are afraid to break it, and do not venture to bring about unforeseen calamities. They hide their vicious thoughts in their hearts, and dare not transgress the penal law, being in awe of it. If the law is known and dreaded, there is no need for investigating rascality, or inquiring after wickedness among the citizens. If the law is imposing, people are not vicious, if it is not, they commit many a felony. Now *Han Fei Tse* does not speak of the severe penalties and the awe-inspiring law of a wise sovereign, but that he is on the look-out for miscreants to punish them. If he says that he looks out for miscreants, the law is not awe-inspiring, so that people offend against it. In the world much more attention is paid to the persecution of criminals than to upholding the respect of the law. Therefore *Han Fei Tse's* remarks do not agree with the law.

When the water of a creek is let out, those who know that it can drown a man, do not attempt to stop the current, but they

<sup>1</sup> *Han Fei Tse loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> *Analects* XVII, 12.

<sup>3</sup> *Han Fei Tse* chap. 19, p. 4.

keep boats and oars in readiness. They know the nature of the water, that its rush cannot be checked, and that it would certainly drown a man. When a subject or a son is bent upon committing a misdeed against his sovereign or his father, they are like the water which drowns a man. Now, *Han Fei Tse* does not inform us, which precautions might be taken against the crime, but takes exception that it is not known or heard of. This would be nothing else than not to prepare the necessary implements for the water, and merely to wish to learn, as soon as possible, that the water is drowning somebody. Being drowned by water one cannot hold the water accountable, but is oneself guilty of having neglected the necessary precautions.

When a sovereign is robbed by a subject, he himself has neglected the law. Preparing against drowning, one does not dam in the fountain-head, and in guarding oneself against an attack, one does not look out for the misdemeanours of the subjects. *Han Fei Tse* stands in need of self-instruction on these points.

The nature of water is stronger than fire, but pour the water into a kettle, it will boil, but not gain the upper hand. A sovereign is like fire, a subject like water, administration is the kettle. Fire does not seek the misdeeds of water. Thus a prince ought not to search for the faults of his subjects.

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

Statements Corrected (*Ch'eng-shuo*).

The researches of the Literati into the Five Canons<sup>1</sup> for the most part miss the truth. The former scholars, unable to distinguish between essential and accidental points, indulged in fanciful inventions, and their successors, relying on the words of old teachers, stuck to the old traditions and walked in the old grooves. Soon well versed in quibbling, they would thoughtlessly uphold the doctrine of one master and follow the teachings of their professor. When the time had come, they quickly took office, and in their eagerness for promotion, they had no time left to devote their faculties to the handling of such problems. Consequently an unbroken chain of false theories has been handed down, and truth has hid her face.

The truth about the Five Canons has been equally obscured, but compared with the *Yiking*, the statements about the *Shuking* and the "Spring and Autumn" are still tolerably correct.

This rough theme may serve as an introduction into the minor details of this essay.

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Some of the critics of the *Shuking* are of opinion that originally it consisted of one hundred and two chapters, and that afterwards, when *Ch'in* burned the books of poetry and history, twenty-nine chapters were preserved. The statement that *Ch'in* burned the books of poetry and history is correct, but the assertion that originally there were one hundred and two chapters is erroneous.

The *Shuking* consisted of one hundred chapters first, which were transmitted by *Confucius*. When, by the advice of *Li Sse*, *Ch'in* burned the Five Canons, *Fu Shêng*<sup>2</sup> of *Chi-nan*<sup>3</sup> took the hundred chapters and concealed them in a mountain.<sup>4</sup> Under the

<sup>1</sup> The Five King or ancient Classics: *Yiking*, *Shiking*, *Shuking*, *Liki*, and *Ch'un-ch'u*.

<sup>2</sup> A scholar of great learning.

<sup>3</sup> The capital of *Shantung*.

<sup>4</sup> The *Shi-chi* chap. 121, p. 8 says "in a wall."

reign of the Emperor *Hsiao Ching Ti*<sup>1</sup> the *Shuking* was saved. *Fu Shêng* had taken it out from the mountain. *Ching Ti* sent *Ch'ao Ts'o* to him. He received from *Fu Shêng* twenty odd chapters of the *Shuking*. *Fu Shêng* died as a very old man. His book was greatly damaged. *Ch'ao Ts'o* handed it over to *Ni K'uan*.

During the time of the Emperor *Hsiao Hsüan Ti*<sup>2</sup> a young woman in *Ho-nei*,<sup>3</sup> while opening an old room, discovered a chapter of a preserved *Yiking*, *Liki*, and *Shuking*. The books were presented to the emperor, who communicated them to the principal men of learning. Subsequently the *Yiking*, the *Liki*, and the *Shuking* had each one chapter added. It was then that the number of the chapters of the *Shuking* was brought up to twenty-nine.

When *Hsiao Ching Ti* had ascended the throne,<sup>4</sup> Prince *Kung* of *Lu*,<sup>5</sup> while demolishing the school of *Confucius* for the purpose of building a palace there, found a copy of the *Shuking* in one hundred chapters in the wall.<sup>6</sup> The Emperor *Wu Ti* sent messengers to fetch the books for him to see, but there was nobody who could read them, whereupon he stored them away in the palace, so that no one outside could see them.

Under the Emperor *Hsiao Ch'êng Ti*<sup>7</sup> the study of the *Shuking* in ancient characters received a new impetus. *Chang Pa* of *Tung-hai*<sup>8</sup> concocted a *Shuking* of one hundred and two chapters, following the order of the hundred chapters, and presented it to the emperor. The emperor produced the concealed hundred chapters for comparison, but it was found out that they did not agree at all. Upon this the emperor handed *Chang Pa* over to the court. The judges declared that his crime deserved death, but the emperor, who had a very high opinion of his talents, did not put him to death, nor did he destroy his writings, for which he had a certain weakness. Thus the one hundred and two chapters were handed down to posterity, and people who saw them imagined that the *Shuking* had one hundred and two chapters first.

<sup>1</sup> 156-141 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> 73-49 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> A city in *Huai-ch'ing-fu* (*Honan*).

<sup>4</sup> In 156 B.C.

<sup>5</sup> A son of the Emperor *Ching Ti*, who in 154 B.C. was made Prince of *Lu*.

<sup>6</sup> In addition to these hundred chapters of the *Shuking*, a *Lî(ki)* in 300 chapters, a *Ch'un-ch'iu* in 300 chapters and a *Lun-yü* in 21 chapters were brought to light. Cf. *Lun-hêng* XX, 4v. (*Yi-wén*).

<sup>7</sup> 32-7 B.C.

<sup>8</sup> A place in *Huai-an-fu* (*Kiangsu*).

Some hold that, when *Ch'in Shih Huang Ti* burned the "poetry (and the) books,"<sup>1</sup> he burned the Book of Poetry, but not the Canons. Thus the *Shiking* would alone have been committed to the flames. However, the term "poetry and the books" is a general designation of the Five Canons.

There is a common saying to the effect that a lad who does not read the Canons is bent on plays and amusements. "*Tse Lu* got *Tse Kao*<sup>2</sup> appointed governor of *Pi*.<sup>3</sup> The Master said, 'You are injuring a man's son.'—*Tse Lu* replied, 'There are the people, and there are the spirits of the land and grain. Why must one read *books*, before he can be considered to have learned?'"<sup>4</sup>

A general term for the Five Canons is "the books." Those who have recorded the burning of the books by *Ch'in* do not know the reason for this measure, therefore they do not understand its meaning.<sup>5</sup>

In the 24th year of *Ch'in Shih Huang Ti*'s reign,<sup>6</sup> a banquet was given in the *Hsien-yang* palace. Seventy great scholars wished the emperor long life, and the *Pu-yeh*<sup>7</sup> *Chou Ch'ing Ch'en* made a eulogistic speech. When the emperor had gathered all the people around him, *Shun Yü Yüeh* remonstrated with him. He was of opinion that, because the emperor did not grant fiefs to the sons of the nobility, a catastrophe like that of *T'ien Chang*<sup>8</sup> and the six ministers<sup>9</sup> was unavoidable. Besides he stigmatised *Chou Ch'ing Ch'en*'s panegyric as a flattery of the emperor.

*Ch'in Shih Huang Ti* handed over his memorial to the premier. The premier, *Li Sse*, regarded the remarks of *Shun Yü Yüeh* as quite unfit to be taken into consideration. For this reason he denounced the speeches of the literati as inveigling the black haired people. Then the officials were ordered to completely destroy the Five

### 詩書.

<sup>1</sup> *Tse Lu* and *Tse Kao* were both disciples of *Confucius*.

<sup>2</sup> A place in *Shantung*.

<sup>3</sup> *Analects XI, 24.*

<sup>4</sup> On the burning of the books cf. p. 99.

<sup>5</sup> This is a misprint. It was the 34th year (213 B.C.). See the *Shi-chi* chap. 6, p. 21v. and p. 99.

<sup>6</sup> An official title under the *Ch'in* and *Han* dynasties.

<sup>7</sup> A noble of the State of *Ch'i*, who in 481 B.C. put to death the reigning sovereign Duke *Chien*, and usurped the government of the State with the title of chief minister.

<sup>8</sup> The chiefs of the six powerful families in *Ch'in* who struggled for supremacy. Three of these families were destroyed during these struggles, the remaining three: *Chao*, *Han* and *Wei* in 403 B.C. divided the *Ch'in* State among them.

Canons by fire. Those who dared to conceal books or writings of the hundred authors<sup>1</sup> should be severely dealt with. Only members of the academy were allowed to keep books. Thus the Five Canons were all burned, and not merely the books of the various schools of thought. In this the writers on this epoch believe. Seeing that poetry and "books" are mentioned we can only say that the Canons are here termed "books."

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Some writers on the *Shuking* are aware of the fact that it was burned by *Ch'in*, but urge that twenty-nine chapters were saved and left unscathed. If this was the case, then were the twenty-nine chapters of the *Shuking* left by the fire, and did the seventy-one chapters become coal and ashes, whereas the twenty-nine remained?

When *Fu Shêng* was old, *Ch'ao T'so* studied under him and just, when he had received twenty odd chapters, *Fu Shêng* died. Therefore these twenty-nine chapters alone came forth, and the seventy-one had been saved. Seventy-one chapters had been saved, and they conversely state that twenty-nine chapters were saved.

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Some say that the twenty-nine chapters of the *Shuking* are an imitation of the Dipper and seven zodiacal constellations.<sup>2</sup> Four times seven gives twenty-eight chapters, and the one is the Dipper, so that there would be the number of twenty-nine. However, when the *Shuking* was destroyed in *Ch'in*, only twenty-nine chapters remained, how could there be any imitation? During the reign of the emperor *Hsüan Ti* one chapter was found of the lost *Shuking*, the *Yiking*, and the *Liki* each. The number of the chapters of the *Yiking* and the *Liki* became complete then. How could any imitation find its way? Out of the series of the hundred chapters of the *Shuking*, seventy-one were missing, and no more than twenty-nine still extant. How should the imitation have taken place then?

Others hold that *Confucius* selected twenty-nine chapters, and that these alone were up to the standard. Only common scholars can speak so, and it does not show much wisdom in the writers

<sup>1</sup> Writers on philosophy and science.

<sup>2</sup> There are 28 stellar mansions in all, 7 for each quadrant.

on these subjects. The twenty-nine chapters were a fragment and incomplete, and just on account of this deficiency the writers conceived the idea of the imitation. They misunderstand the sage, and their opinion disagrees with the facts now and formerly.

The chapters of a Classic correspond to the periods and clauses. Periods and clauses still consist of words. Words giving a sense form a clause, and a certain number of clauses is combined into a period. A complex of periods gives a chapter. A chapter therefore is a combination of periods and clauses. If one maintains that the chapters imitate something, then he must admit that periods and clauses have their prototype likewise.

In ancient times the *Shiking* also consisted of several thousand chapters. *Confucius* expunged a great many and made a revised edition, retaining but three hundred chapters. They are like the twenty-nine chapters of the *Shuking*. Provided that the letter had their model, the three hundred and five chapters must have had theirs likewise.

Some one might suggest that the *Ch'un Chiu* is a reproduction of the twelve months. The twelve dukes of the *Ch'un Chiu*<sup>1</sup> are like the hundred chapters of the *Shuking*. Since these chapters are not modelled after anything, the twelve dukes cannot be such an imitation either.

Discussing the "Spring and Autumn," people have put forward the following theory. During the two hundred and forty-two years of the "Spring and Autumn" period, the people had excellent principles, and those of the emperor were perfect. The good were liked, and the wicked detested. Revolutionists were led back to the right path. Nothing could be like the "Spring and Autumn" period in this respect. Thus the principles of the people and of the emperor just happened to be perfect.

Three armies forming six divisions, of 12,000 men, suffice to crush an enemy, to defeat brigands, and to put a stop to their attacks on the empire, but it is not necessary that they should be an imitation of any standard.

When *Confucius* composed the "Spring and Autumn," the chronicle of the twelve dukes of *Lu*, it was like the three armies forming six divisions. The number of soldiers, 12,000 in all, would correspond to the two-hundred and forty-two years. Six divisions consisting of 12,000 soldiers would suffice to form an army, and twelve dukes comprising two hundred and forty-two years would

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<sup>1</sup> The twelve dukes of *Lu*, whose history is given in the *Ch'un-chiu*.

be sufficient to establish a moral system. But those who concern themselves with these questions, are very partial to extravagant theories and imposing doctrines. In their opinion, the reckless meet with misfortune, therefore the number of the chapters of the classical writings has always a certain sense.

Let us get to the bottom of the thing, and see what these writings are meant to be, and I am sure that our ideas will represent the view of the venerable men who wrote those books and poetries. The sages are the authors of the Canons, the worthies of the Classics. Having exhausted a theme and said all they could about it, they made a chapter of it. The subjects were cognate, and the various paragraphs homogeneous. In case the subjects were heterogeneous, and the diction not uniform, they formed a new chapter. The sense being different, the words differed too. Thus, when a new theme was treated, another chapter had to be commenced. All depended on the subject, how could the number of stars be imitated?

Concerning the two hundred and forty-two years of the "Spring and Autumn" there are some who say that the longest life lasts ninety years, a medium long one eighty, and the shortest long life seventy years. *Confucius* took three generations of a medium long life for his work. Three times eight gives twenty-four, ergo there are two hundred and forty years. Others urge that this is the mean number of the days of pregnancy.<sup>1</sup> Others again contend that during two hundred and forty-two years the ways of the people were excellent, and those of the emperors perfect.

Now, if we accept the three generation theory, the statement about the excellent conduct must be wrong, and, if we declare the latter view to be correct, then we must dismiss the theory about the three generations as erroneous, for both are contradictory. How could we be sure to be in accordance with the views of the sage, if we decide in favour of either of these opinions?

The addition of years, months, and days to a record will always increase its accuracy. The Five Timekeepers of the *Hung-fan*,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This translation is a mere guess. 赤帀 might mean "rule for the newborn." According to Chinese ideas pregnancy lasts 7-9 months or 210-270 days, whereas we reckon 182-300 days. The mean number would be 240 or 241 days. The dictionaries do not explain the expression.

<sup>2</sup> These Five Timekeepers of the *Hung-fan* chapter are: the year, the month, the day, the stars, and the dates of the calendar. *Shuking*, *Hung-fan*, Pt. V, Bk. IV, 8 (*Legge* Vol. III, Pt. II, p. 327).

the years, months, days, and stars serve to describe events, but have no reference to any outwards signs. It is on record that the years during which the twelve dukes enjoyed the possession of their State were two hundred and forty-two altogether. These, at all events, have given rise to the three generation theory. As a matter of fact, *Confucius* in writing the history of the twelve dukes, either was of opinion that the events which happened under their reigns were sufficient to illustrate the principles of a sovereign, or he took three generations, and these three generations just happened to embrace the time of the twelve dukes. If he took the twelve dukes, then the two hundred and forty-two years were not regarded as three generations, and if he took three generations, so that eight were multiplied by three, this would give two hundred and forty, why then did he add two?

I shall receive the answer that he wished to include the first year of Duke *Yin*, and did not add two years. Had these two years not been included, the first year of Duke *Yin* would have been omitted in the Classic. Provided that in the composition of the *Ch'un-ch'iu* the time for three generations was chosen on purpose, wherefore was it necessary to begin the narration from the events which happened during the first year of Duke *Yin's* reign? If, conversely, these events were required for the beginning, then only completeness was aimed at, and it would be no use speaking of three generations. They say that Duke *Yin* reigned fifty years.<sup>1</sup> Now, should a complete record be given from the first year, or should it be cut in two to have the number of three times eight? If a complete record from the first year was given, the number of three times eight did cut it in two, and, if it was cut in two with the object of obtaining the full number of years for three generations, then the first years of Duke *Yin* were superfluous.

Furthermore, a year differs in length from months and days, but the events, which they embrace, have all the same purport. Since the two hundred and forty-two years are believed to represent three generations, the days and months of these two hundred and forty-two years ought to have a fixed number likewise. The years represent three generations, but how many months and days are there, and what do they represent? The years of the "Spring and Autumn" are like the paragraphs of the *Shuking*. A paragraph

<sup>1</sup> This would seem a misprint. Duke *Yin* of *Lu* reigned from 721-711 B.C. i.e. 10 years, not 50.

serves to bring out a meaning, and a year to chronicle events. He who holds that the years of the *Ch'un-ch'iu* have a prototype, must admit that the paragraphs of the *Shuking* have a prototype also.

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Writers on the *Yiking* all state that *Fu Hsi* made the Eight Diagrams, and that *Wén Wang* increased them to sixty-four. Now, because a wise emperor rose, the *Yellow River* produced the Plan and the *Lo* the Scroll. When *Fu Hsi* was emperor, the Plan of the *River* put forward the diagrams of the *Yiking* from the water of the *River*, and during *Yü's* time the Scroll of the *Lo* was obtained. It emerged from the *Lo*, putting forward the nine paragraphs of the "Flood Regulation."<sup>1</sup> Thus by means of the diagrams *Fu Hsi* governed the empire, and *Yü* put the "Flood Regulation" into practice to regulate the great flood.

Of old, when *Lieh Shan*<sup>2</sup> was on the throne, he obtained the Plan of the *River*. The *Hsia* dynasty took it over and called it *Lien-shan*. The Plan of the *River* obtained by the Emperor *Lieh Shan* also went over to the *Yin* dynasty, which styled it *Kuei-tsang*. *Fu Hsi* came into possession of the plan during his reign, and the people of *Chou* denoted it as *Chou-Yi*.<sup>3</sup> The diagrams of this Classic were sixty-four in all. *Wén Wang* and *Chou Kung* made a summary of them in eighteen paragraphs and explained the six lines.<sup>4</sup>

The current tradition on the *Yiking* is that *Fu Hsi* made the eight diagrams. Only he who keeps on the surface, can say that *Fu Hsi* really composed the eight diagrams. *Fu Hsi* obtained the eight diagrams, but did not make them, and *Wén Wang* received the sixty-four quite complete, and did not increase them. These words: to make and to increase, have their origin in the common tradition. People lightly believe in this statement, and consider it

<sup>1</sup> The chapter of the *Shuking* entitled "Hung-fan."

<sup>2</sup> The Emperor *Shén Nung*.

<sup>3</sup> The *Yiking* of the *Chou* Dynasty, the only one which has come down to us.

<sup>4</sup> We learn from the *Ti-wang-shih-chi* (3d cent. A.D.) that *Fu Hsi* made the eight diagrams, and that *Shén Nung* increased them to sixty-four. *Huang Ti*, *Yao*, and *Shun* took them over, expanded them, and distinguished two *Yikings*. The *Hsia* dynasty adopted that of *Shén Nung*, and called it *Lien-shan*, the *Yin* dynasty took the version of *Huang Ti*, and called it *Kuei-tsang*. *Wén Wang* expanded the sixty-four diagrams, composed the six broken and unbroken lines of which they were formed, and called it *Chou Yi*.

Others think that *Lien-shan* is another name of *Fu Hsi*, and *Kuei-tsang* a designation of *Huang Ti*.

as true, whereas the truth is nearly forgotten. Not knowing that the *Yiking* is the Plan of the River,<sup>1</sup> they are not aware either to which dynasty the different *Yikings*, still extant, belong. Sometimes it is the *Lien-shan* or the *Kuei-tsang Yiking*, and sometimes the *Yiking* of the *Chou* dynasty.

The amplifications and abridgements which the Books of Rites underwent under the *Hsia*, *Yin*, and *Chou* dynasties vary very much. If, because the *Chou* dynasty is the last of the three, our present *Yiking* is regarded as that of the *Chou* dynasty, then the *Liki* ought to be from the *Chou* time also. But, since the "Six Institutions" do not tally with the present *Liki*, the latter cannot be that of the *Chou* dynasty. Thus it becomes doubtful too, whether our *Yiking* dates from the *Chou* epoch.

Since *Tso Ch'u Ming*,<sup>2</sup> who in his commentary quotes the authors of the *Chou* dynasty, uses diagrams which agree with our modern *Yiking*, it is most likely the *Yiking* of the *Chou* period. The writers on the *Liki* all know that the *Liki* is the *Liki*, but to which dynasty does it belong?

*Confucius* says,<sup>3</sup> "The *Yin* dynasty continued the Rites of the *Hsia*; wherein it amplified or abridged them, may be known. The *Chou* dynasty has continued the Rites of the *Yin*; wherein it amplified or abridged them, may be known." Accordingly the *Hsia* as well as the *Yin* and *Chou* all had their own *Liki*. Now is our own the *Chou Liki* or that of the *Hsia* or *Yin* dynasties?

If they hold that it is the *Chou Liki*, one must object that the Rites of the *Chou* had the Six Institutions,<sup>4</sup> whereas our *Liking* does not contain them. Perhaps at that time the *Yin Liki* was not yet extinct, and the *Liki* with the Six Institutions was not handed down. Consequently ours has been regarded as the *Chou Li*. The Official System of the *Chou*<sup>5</sup> does not agree with the present *Liki*, it must be the *Chou Liki* with the Six Institutions therefore, but it is not being handed down, just as the *Shuking*, the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, and the *Tso-chuan* in ancient characters are not much in vogue.

<sup>1</sup> The tradition about the Plan of the River and the Scroll of the Lo is very old. We find traces of it in the *Yiking*, the *Liki*, the *Shuking*, and the *Analects*. Cf. Legge's translation of the *Yiking*, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> The author of the *Tso-chuan*.

<sup>3</sup> *Analects* II, 23, 2.

<sup>4</sup> The Six Institutions or departments of the *Chou*: administration, instruction, rites, police, jurisdiction, and public welfare. Cf. *Chou-li*, Bk. II, *T'ien-kuan*. (Biot's translation, Vol. I, p. 20.)

<sup>5</sup> Now known as the *Chou-li*.

Those who treat of the *Analects* merely know how to discourse on the text, and to explain the meaning, but they do not know the original number of the books of the *Analects*. During the *Chou* time eight inches were reckoned to one foot.<sup>1</sup> They do not know for what reason the size of the *Analects* was only one foot. The *Analects* are notes on the sayings and doings of *Confucius*, made by his disciples. It happened very often that he corrected them. Many tens of hundreds of books thus originated. For writing them down the size of one foot of eight inches was chosen, as it was more economical, and the books could be kept in the bosom more conveniently. Because the sayings left by the sage were not to be found in the Classics, the pupils were afraid lest they should forget them, when recording from memory, therefore they only used books of one foot like eight inches, and not of two feet four inches.

At the accession of the *Han* dynasty the *Analects* had been lost. When under *Wu Ti's* reign the wall of the house of *Confucius* was pierced,<sup>2</sup> twenty-one books in ancient characters were brought to light. Between the two rivers of *Chi* and *Lu*<sup>3</sup> nine books were discovered, which makes thirty together. The daughter of the Emperor *Chao Ti*<sup>4</sup> read twenty-one books. When the Emperor *Hsüan Ti*<sup>5</sup> sent them down to the scholars of the court of sacrificial worship, they still declared that the work was hard to understand, and called it a record. Afterwards it was transcribed in *Li* characters<sup>6</sup> to give it a wider publicity. First the grandson of *Confucius*, *K'ung An Kuo*, explained it to *Fu Ching*, a native of *Lu*. When the latter became governor of *Ching-chou*,<sup>7</sup> he first called it *Analects*.<sup>8</sup> Now we speak of the twenty books of the *Analects*.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Under the *Hsia* dynasty the foot had ten inches, under the *Yin* nine, under the *Chou* eight. Now it has ten inches again. The foot of the *Chou* time measured but about 20 cm., whereas the modern foot is equal to 35 cm.

<sup>2</sup> By Prince *Kung*. *Vid.* above p. 57.

<sup>3</sup> It is not plain which rivers are meant. They must have been at the frontier of the two conterminous States. There was the *Chi* River, which in *Chi* was called the *Chi* of *Chi*, and in *Lu* the *Chi* of *Lu*.

<sup>4</sup> 86-74 B.C.

<sup>5</sup> 73-49 B.C.

<sup>6</sup> The massive *Li* characters were invented during the *Han* time and form the link between the ancient seal characters and the modern form of script.

<sup>7</sup> A place in *Hupei* province.

<sup>8</sup> *Analects* = *Lun-yü*.

<sup>9</sup> Our text of the *Lun-yü* consists of twenty books. In the *Han* time there were two editions of the Classic, one of *Lu* in twenty books and one of *Chi* in twenty-two.

The nine books found between the rivers of *Chi* and *Lu* have again been lost. Originally there were thirty, but by the transmission of separate books, some have disappeared. Those twenty-one books may be too many or too few, and the interpretation of the text may be correct or erroneous, the critics of the *Lun-yü* do not care, they only know how to ask knotty questions concerning the explanation of ambiguous passages, or find difficulties in all sorts of minutiae. They do not ask about the origin of the work, which has been preserved, or the number of its books or its chapters. Only those well versed in antique lore, who also understand the present time should become teachers, why do we now call teachers men who know nothing about antiquity?

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*Mencius* said, "The traces of the old emperors were obliterated, and the Odes forgotten, when the *Ch'un-ch'iu* was composed. The *Ch'eng* of *Chin* and the *T'ao-wu* of *Ch'u* correspond to the *Ch'un-ch'iu* of *Lu*."<sup>1</sup>

As *Mencius* states, *Ch'un-ch'iu* was the name of the history of *Lu* like the *Ch'eng* and the *T'ao-wu*.<sup>2</sup> *Confucius* preserved the old name and styled it the *Ch'un-ch'iu* Classic. This is by no means a queer expression, nor has it any other sense or any deep and excellent meaning. The ordinary scholars of the present day contend with reference to the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, that *Ch'un* (Spring) is the beginning and *ch'iu* (Autumn) the end of the year. The *Ch'un-ch'iu* Classic can feed the young and afford nourishment to the old, whence the designation *Ch'un-ch'iu* (Spring and Autumn). But wherein does the *Ch'un-ch'iu* differ from the *Shuking*? The *Shuking* is regarded as the book of the emperors of remotest antiquity, or people think that it contains the deeds of the ancients, which were written down by their successors. At all events, the facts and the mode of transmission are both in accordance with truth, and so is the name. People were not at a loss what to say, and then concocted a meaning, so that the expression seemed strange. Those dealing with the *Shuking* speak the truth about it, whereas those concerned with the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, have missed the meaning of the Sage.

We read in the commentary of the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, the *Tso-chuan*, that during the seventeenth year of Duke *Huan's* reign,<sup>3</sup> in winter,

<sup>1</sup> *Mencius* Bk. IV, Pt. II, chap. 21.

<sup>2</sup> The meaning of the names of these old chronicles, *Ch'eng* and *T'ao-wu*, is as obscure as that of the *Ch'un-ch'iu*.

<sup>3</sup> 710-693 B.C.

in the tenth month, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.<sup>1</sup> The day is not mentioned, because the responsible officer had lost it.

The idea that the official had lost the day is correct,<sup>2</sup> I dare say. The historiographer had to record the events, as in our times the district magistrates keep their books. Years and months are long and difficult to be lost, days are short and may easily be forgotten. Good and bad actions are recorded for the sake of truth, and no importance is attached to days and months.

In the commentaries of *Kung Yang* and *Ku Liang*<sup>3</sup> days and months are not mentioned at all. That is on purpose. To omit usual things and use queer expressions, and to give an ambiguous meaning to straightforward words would not be to *Confucius'* mind. In reality *Ch'un-ch'iu* (Spring and Autumn) refers to the Summer also. That it is not mentioned is like the omission of days and months.

*T'ang*, *Yu*, *Hsia*, *Yin*, and *Chou* are territorial names. *Yao* ascended the throne as marquis of *T'ang*.<sup>4</sup> *Shun* rose to power from the *Yu* territory.<sup>5</sup> *Yu* came from *Hsia*<sup>6</sup> and *T'ang*<sup>7</sup> from *Yin*,<sup>8</sup> when they began their brilliant careers. *Wu Wang* relied on *Chou*<sup>9</sup> to fight his battles. They all regarded the country, from which they had taken their origin, as their basis. Out of regard for their native land, which they never forgot, they used its name as their style, just as people have their surnames. The critics on the *Shuking*, however, assert that the dynastic names of the ruling emperors, such as *T'ang*, *Yu*, *Hsia*, *Yin*, and *Chou*, are expressive of their virtue and glory, and descriptive of their grandeur.

*T'ang* means majesty, they say, *Yu* joy, *Hsia* greatness, *Yin* to flourish, and *Chou* to reach. *Yao's* majesty was such, that the people had no adequate name for it, *Shun* was the joy and the bliss of the world, *Yu* got the heritage of the two emperors, and once more

<sup>1</sup> *Ch'un-ch'iu* II, 17, 8.

<sup>2</sup> *I. e.* the day of the sexagenary cycle, for the day of the month is mentioned.

<sup>3</sup> Two other commentaries to the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, less important than the *Tso-chuan*.

<sup>4</sup> *T'ang* was situated in *Pao-ting-fu* (*Chili*).

<sup>5</sup> In *Shansi*.

<sup>6</sup> In *K'ai-feng-fu* (*Honan*).

<sup>7</sup> *Ch'eng T'ang*, the founder of the *Yin* (*Shang*) dynasty.

<sup>8</sup> A principality in *Honan*.

<sup>9</sup> The kingdom of *Chou* in *Shensi*.

established the majesty of the moral laws, so that the people had no adequate name for him. Under *T'ang* of the *Yin* morality flourished, and the glory and virtue of *Wu Wang* of *Chou* reached everywhere. The scholars have found very nice meanings, indeed, and bestowed great praise on these five reigning houses, but they are in opposition to the real truth, and have misconceived the primary idea. The houses of *T'ang*, *Yu*, *Hsia*, *Yin* and *Chou* bear their names just as the *Ch'in* and *Han* do theirs. The *Ch'in* rose from *Ch'in*,<sup>1</sup> and the *Han* started from *Han-chung*.<sup>2</sup> Therefore they still kept the names of *Ch'in* and *Han*. Similarly *Wang Mang* seized the supreme power as a marquis of *Hsin-tu*,<sup>3</sup> and for this reason was called doomed *Hsin*. Had the *Ch'in* and the *Han* flourished anterior to the classical writings, the critics would surely have explained the words *Ch'in* and *Han* as meaning morality and virtue.

When *Yao* was old and wished to yield the throne, the Chief of the Four Mountains<sup>4</sup> recommended *Shun*. *Yao* said, "I will try him."<sup>5</sup> The commentators of the *Shuking* maintain that this signifies, "I will use him, namely:—I will use him and make him emperor." To make him emperor, is to be understood.

The text goes on, "I will wive him, and then observe his behaviour with my two daughters." To observe means nothing more than that *Shun* is to show himself to the world, they say, it does not imply that *Yao* himself is going to observe him. Two such extraordinary men like *Yao* and *Shun*, who are regarded as sages, must have known one another at first sight. There was no need for any trial or observation. The flashes of their genius meeting, they felt an unlimited confidence in each other.

We read further on:—"The four quarters of the empire were all submissive. Being sent to the great plains at the foot of the mountains, amid violent wind, thunder and rain, he did not go astray."<sup>6</sup>

*Ta li*? (the great plains at the foot of the mountains) is the office of the three prime ministers, they say. Filling the post of

<sup>1</sup> The kingdom of *Ch'in* in *Shensi*.

<sup>2</sup> In *Shensi*.

<sup>3</sup> Principality in *Nan-yang-fu* (*Henan*).

<sup>4</sup> The president of all the nobles of the empire.

<sup>5</sup> *Shuking Yao-tien*, Pt. I, Bk. III, 12 (*Legge Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 26*).

<sup>6</sup> *Shuking Shun-tien*, Pt. II, Bk. I, 2 (*Legge Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 31*).

<sup>7</sup> 大麓.

one minister, *Shun* had to act as registrar-general, the duties of the two other ministers were manifold, but in all he was equally successful like violent wind and powerful rain-showers.

Now, inspite of their great ability sages do not always know each other, although they be sages in fact. *Shun* found it difficult to know the cunning, wherefore he employed *Kao Yao*<sup>1</sup>, who showed a great knowledge of men. Cunning people are hard to know, and sages are difficult to find out. *Yao's* genius was like *Shun's* knowledge; *Shun* knew cunning people, and *Yao* knew sages. When *Yao* had heard of *Shun's* virtue, and that he was recommended by the Chief of the Four Mountains, he knew that he was an extraordinary man, but he was not yet sure of his ability. Therefore he said, "I will try him," and he tried him in an office and gave him his two daughters in marriage to see, how he would behave as husband. He filled his posts irreproachably, nor did he deviate from the right path of matrimony. Then *Yao* again bade all the people go into the country and observe his sagehood. *Shun* braved storm and rain-showers, and did not go astray. Then *Yao* knew that he was a sage and entrusted him with the empire. If the text speaks of observing and trying, it means to observe and to try his ability.

The commentators regard this expression as figurative and by adding to and embellishing the text they distort everything, and do not preserve the true sense. Their misinterpretations quite spoil the meaning. Thus the wrong explanations are transmitted to posterity uninterruptedly, and fanciful comments obscure the truth ever since.

Intelligent persons wishing to understand the Canons do not go back to the original meanings, and even if they do, they still compare the old commentaries, and adopt the old explanations, which have been several times repeated, and look upon them as proofs. What has been handed down about the Canons cannot be relied upon, for the erroneous statements about the Five Canons are very numerous. The facts and the texts of the *Shuking* and the *Ch'un-ch'iu* are comparably plain and intelligible, therefore my remarks apply especially to them.

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<sup>1</sup> Minister of Crime under *Shun*.

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

Critical Remarks on Various Books (*An-shu*).

The Confucianists look up to *Confucius* as the founder of their school, whereas the Mêhists regard *Mê Ti* as their master.<sup>1</sup> The Confucian doctrine has come down to us, that of *Mê Ti* has fallen into desuetude, because the Confucian principles can be put in use, while the Mêhist system is very difficult to practise. How so?

The Mêhists neglect the burials, but honour the ghosts. Their doctrine is abnormal, self-contradictory, and irreconcilable with truth, therefore it is hard to practise. Which are its anomalies?

Provided that ghosts are not the spirits of the departed, then they can have no knowledge of the honour shown them. Now the Mêhists aver, that the ghosts are indeed the spirits of the dead. They treat the souls well, and neglect the corpses. Thus they are generous to the spirits and mean with reference to their bodies. Since generosity and meanness do not harmonize, and the externals and internals do not agree, the spirits would resent it, and send misfortunes down upon their votaries. Though there might be ghosts, they would, at any rate, be animated by a deadly hatred. Human nature is such, that it likes generosity, and detests meanness. The feelings of the spirits must be very much the same. According to *Mê Tse's* precepts one would worship the ghosts, and pray for happiness, but the happiness obtained thereby would be very scarce, and misfortune on misfortune would be the result. This is but one instance among a hundred, but the entire Mêhist system is like that. The cause that it has lost its ground, and is not being handed down, is contained therein.

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<sup>1</sup> *Mê Ti*, the philosopher of universal love, a younger contemporary of *Confucius*, 5th or 4th cent. b.c. Cf. E. Faber, *Lehre des Philosophen Micius*, Elberfeld 1877 (Extracts from his works).

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The *Tso-chuan* of the *Ch'un-ch'iu*<sup>1</sup> was recovered from the wall of the house of *Confucius*. Under the reign of the emperor *Hsiao Wu Ti*, Prince *Kung* of *Lu* demolished the school of *Confucius* for the purpose of building a palace. There he found thirty books of the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, which had been concealed.<sup>2</sup> These were the *Tso-chuan*. *Kung Yang Kao*, *Ku Liang Chih*<sup>3</sup> and *Hu Mu*<sup>4</sup> all transmitted the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, representing different schools, but the commentary of *Tso Ch'u Ming* alone was in time the nearest to *Confucius* and did embody the right views:

The *Liki* was composed in the school of *Confucius*. The Grand Annalist (the author of the *Shi-chi*) was a man of great talents in the *Han* time. Now the statements of *Tso Ch'u Ming* are in accordance with these two books,<sup>5</sup> whereas the writings of *Kung Yang Kao*, *Ku Liang Chih* and *Hu Mu* differ very much. Besides these writers are too far remote from *Confucius*. It is much better to be near, than to be distant, and better to see, than to know by hearsay.

*Liu Tse Cheng* mocked at the *Tso Chuan*,<sup>6</sup> whereas his servants, his wife, and his sons used to recite it. At *Kuang Wu Ti's*<sup>7</sup> time *Ch'en Yuan* and *Fan Shu*<sup>8</sup> reported to the throne on the *Tso-chuan*, collecting all the facts and giving their opinions on the pros and cons. Then the fame of *Tso Ch'u Ming* became established. *Fan Shu* soon after was dismissed for an offence. *Ch'en Yuan* and *Fan Shu* were the most talented men of the empire. In their arguments on the merits of the *Tso Chuan* they display a remarkable vigour. *Ch'en Yuan* used to express himself very cautiously and *Fan Shu's* criticisms were silenced.<sup>9</sup> Hence it became evident that *Tso Ch'u Ming* gives us the truth.

<sup>1</sup> In the opinion of most Chinese critics the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, as we have it, has not been preserved, but was reconstructed from the *Tso-chuan* or from the other commentaries. This view is supported by what *Wang Chung* says here. See on this question Legge, *Prolegomena to his translation of the Ch'un-ch'iu*, p. 16 seq.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above pp. 57 and 65.

<sup>3</sup> *Kung Yang* and *Ku Liang* are the surnames, *Kao* and *Chih* the personal names.

<sup>4</sup> *Hu Mu's* commentary is not mentioned in the Catalogue of the *Han-shu*.

<sup>5</sup> To wit the *Liki* and the *Shi-chi*.

<sup>6</sup> *Liu Tse Cheng* = *Liu Hsiang*, 80-9 B.C., was an admirer of the commentary of *Ku Liang*, whereas his son *Liu Hsin* stood up for the *Tso-chuan*.

<sup>7</sup> 25-57 A.D.

<sup>8</sup> *Fan Shu* alias *Fan Shêng*.

<sup>9</sup> *Fan Shu* in his report to the throne had attacked the *Tso-chuan* on fourteen points.

To relate marvellous stories is not at all in the style of *Confucius*, who did not speak of strange things. The *Lü-shih-ch'un-ch'i'u*<sup>1</sup> e. g. belongs to this class of works.<sup>2</sup> The *Kuo-yü* is the exoteric narrative of *Tso Ch'iu Ming*. Because the text of the *Tso-chuan* Classic is rather concise, he still made extracts and edited the text of the *Kuo-yü* to corroborate the *Tso-chuan*. Thus the *Kuo-yü* of *Tso Ch'iu Ming* is a book which the Literati of our time regard as genuine.

*Kung Sun Lung* wrote a treatise on the hard and white.<sup>3</sup> He split words, dissected expressions, and troubled about equivocal terms. His investigations have no principles and are of no use for government.

*Tsou Yen* in *Ch'i* published three works which are vague and diffuse;<sup>4</sup> he gives very few proofs, but his words startle the reader. Men of great talents are very often led astray by their imagination and show a great lack of critical acumen. Their style is brilliant, but there is nothing in it, and their words are imposing, but their researches are conspicuous by the absence of sober judgment.

When *Shang Yang*<sup>5</sup> was minister of *Ch'in*, he developed the system of agriculture and fighting, and, when *Kuan Chung*<sup>6</sup> held the same position in *Ch'i*, he wrote the book on weight. He made the people wealthy, the State prosperous, the sovereign powerful, and the enemies weak, and adjusted rewards and punishments. His work<sup>7</sup> is classed together with that of *Tsou Yen*, but the Grand Annalist has two different records about them.<sup>8</sup> People are perplexed thereby, and at a loss, which view to take.

<sup>1</sup> An important work on antique lore composed under the patronage of Prince *Lü Pu Wei* in the 3d cent. B.C.

<sup>2</sup> Works relating marvellous stories.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. my paper on the *Chinese Sophists*, *Journal of the China Branch of the R. As. Soc.*, Shanghai 1899, p. 29 and appendix containing a translation of the remains of this philosopher.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. II, p. 34.

<sup>5</sup> *Wei Yang*, Prince of *Shang*, a great reformer of the civil and military administration of the *Ch'in* State, which he raised to great power. Died 338 B.C.

<sup>6</sup> One of the most celebrated statesmen of antiquity, who died in 645 B.C.

<sup>7</sup> A speculative work which passes under the title of *Kuan Tse*. The one still in existence is perhaps a later forgery.

<sup>8</sup> See *Ma Ch'ien* extols *Kuan Chung* (*Shi-chi* chap. 62, p. 2v) and finds fault with *Shang Yang* (*Shi-chi* chap. 68, p. 9), although, in *Wang Ch'ung's* opinion, their deeds and their theories are very similar. It must be noted, however, that *Shang Yang's* criminal laws were very cruel. *Wang Ch'ung*, who is to a certain extent imbued with Taoist ideas, feels a natural aversion to all forms of government, and to legislation in particular.

*Chang Yi* was a contemporary of *Su Ch'in*. When the latter died, *Chang Yi* was certainly informed of it. Since he must have known all the details, his words ought to have served as basis to fix the truth. However, the reports are not clear, there being two versions. *Chang Shang* of *Tung-hai*<sup>1</sup> also wrote a biography. Was *Su Ch'in* an invention of *Chang Shang*, for how is it possible that there is such a discrepancy between the two versions?

In the Genealogical Tables of the Three Dynasties<sup>2</sup> it is said that the Five Emperors and Three Rulers were all descendants of *Huang Ti*, and that from *Huang Ti* downward they were successively born without being again informed by the breath of heaven. In the special record of the *Yin* dynasty<sup>3</sup> we read, however, that *Chien Ti*,<sup>4</sup> the mother of *Hsieh*,<sup>5</sup> while bathing in a river, met a black bird, which dropped an egg. She swallowed it, and subsequently gave birth to *Hsieh*.<sup>6</sup>

In the special record of the *Chou*<sup>7</sup> dynasty we find the notice that the mother of Lord *Chi*, *Chiang Yuan*,<sup>8</sup> while going into the country, saw the footprints of a giant. When she stepped into them, she became with child, and gave birth to Lord *Chi*.<sup>9</sup>

Now we learn from the Genealogical Tables that *Hsieh* and Lord *Chi* were both descendants of *Huang Ti*, whereas we read in the records of the *Yin* and *Chou* dynasties that they were conceived from the sperm of the black bird and the giant. These two versions ought not to be transmitted simultaneously, yet the Great Annalist recorded them both indiscriminately. The consorts of emperors should not stroll into the country or bathe in a river. Now the one is said to have bathed in a river, and to have swallowed the egg of a black bird, and the other went into the country, and there walked in the footprints of a giant. That is against all the laws of decorum and a mixing up of the distinctions between right and wrong.

<sup>1</sup> A place in *Kiangsu*.

<sup>2</sup> *Shi-chi* chap. 13.

<sup>3</sup> *Shi-chi* chap. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Second wife of the Emperor *K'u*.

<sup>5</sup> The first ancestor of the *Yin* dynasty.

<sup>6</sup> *Shi-chi* chap. 3, p. 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Shi-chi* chap. 4, p. 1.

<sup>8</sup> First wife of the Emperor *K'u*.

<sup>9</sup> *Hou Chi* = "Lord of the Soil," the ancestor of the *Chou* dynasty.

The "New Words"<sup>1</sup> is the work of *Lu Chia*,<sup>2</sup> which was appreciated very much by *Tung Chung Shu*.<sup>3</sup> It deals with sovereigns and subjects, good and bad government, the words are worth remembering, the facts related, excellent, and show a great amount of knowledge. They may supplement the Classics; although there is not much to be added to the words of the old sages, at all events there is nothing amiss with *Lu Chia's* words. The utterances of *Tung Chung Shu*, on the other hand, about the rain sacrifices responding to heaven and the earthen dragon attracting the rain are very obscure.<sup>4</sup>

Droughts will happen in consequence of the rain sacrifices (being in disorder), but have nothing to do with the state sacrifices of the *Hsia* dynasty. Was the marquis of *Chin* responsible, or was his administration defective, so that the *Yang* and the *Yin* were not in harmony? *Chin* had dropped the state sacrifices of the *Hsia*. When the marquis of *Chin* was laid up with sickness, he took the advice of *Tse Ch'an* of *Cheng* and instituted the *Hsia* sacrifices, whereupon he recovered from his disease.<sup>5</sup> Had in fact the rain sacrifices not been in order, or the dragon neglected, the same misfortune would have befallen *Chin* again. Provided the drought was attracted by the administration, the latter should have been re-organised, but what would be the use of making provisions for the rain sacrifices or the dragon, if the administration was defective?

*Kung Yang* in his commentary on the *Ch'un-ch'iu* says that during the time of extraordinary heat, it suffices to reform the government, when the *Yin* and the *Yang* fluids mix, and dryness and moisture unite; such being the law of nature. Wherefore must the rain sacrifices still be prepared then, and the dragons be put up? Do the spirits delight in these offerings? If, when the rain comes, the broiling heat did not relax, nor the disastrous drought cease, where would be the effect of the changes and reforms?

Moreover heat and cold are the same as dryness and moisture: all are the results of government, and man is responsible for them. It is difficult therefore to see the reason, why in time of drought people pray for happiness, but not in cold or hot weather. In case

<sup>1</sup> *Hsin-yü*. The work still exists.

<sup>2</sup> *Lu Chia* lived in the 2nd cent. B.C. at the beginning of the *Han* dynasty. Twice he was sent as envoy to the southern *Yüeh*. Cf. I, p. 304.

<sup>3</sup> An author of the 2nd cent. B.C. He wrote the *Ch'un-ch'iu-fan-lu*, the "Rich Dew of the Spring and Autumn," which has come down to us.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. I, p. 386.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. I, p. 394.

that there is a retribution, we ought to have recourse to the rain sacrifices and to the dragon for heat and cold as well. Men of superior intellect and great knowledge, however, do not believe in either of these theories.

*Tung Chung Shu* does not call himself a scholar in his books, probably thinking that he surpassed all the others. Among the prolific writers of the *Han* time *Sse Ma Ch'ien* and *Yang Tse Yün*<sup>1</sup> are the *Yellow River* and the *Han*,<sup>2</sup> all the rest like the *Ching* and *Wei*<sup>3</sup> rivers. Yet *Sse Ma Ch'ien* gives us too little of his own judgment, *Yang Tse Yün* does not speak on common topics, and *Tung Chung Shu's* discussions on the Taoist doctrines are very strange. These are the three most famous men of the north.

The *Chan-shu*<sup>4</sup> states that *Tung Chung Shu* disturbed their books, which means the sayings of *Confucius*. The readers either hold that "to disturb our books" means that he throws the works of *Confucius* into disorder, or they suppose that "han" is equivalent to "adjust," and that he adjusts the writings of *Confucius*. In both cases it is the same word "han," but between order and disorder there is a great distance. Yet the readers do not equally apply their minds, nor thoroughly study the question, hence their wrong statements. To say that *Tung Chung Shu* carried disorder into the writings of *Confucius*, would imply an extraordinary talent, and to say that he adjusted these writings, would likewise imply a wonderful knowledge. Nobody ever said of *Sse Ma Ch'ien* or *Yang Tse Yün* that they belonged to the school of the Sage or not, or that they disturbed or adjusted the works of *Confucius*. Most people now-a-days do not think enough and, when treating a problem, lose sight of the principal facts. Therefore we have these two doubtful views, between which the scholars are vacillating.

The work of *Tung Chung Shu* is not antagonistic to the Confucian school, neither does it equal the writing of *Confucius*. Therefore the statement that it invalidates those writings is preposterous. On the other hand the writings of *Confucius* are not in confusion, consequently the assertion that it brings these writings into good order is wrong likewise.

<sup>1</sup> The philosopher *Yang Hsiung*. Cf. I, p. 304.

<sup>2</sup> The largest affluent of the *Yangtze*.

<sup>3</sup> Both tributaries of the *Yellow River* in *Kansu* and *Shensi*, which joined together, fall into the *Huang Ho* near its elbow in *Shensi*.

<sup>4</sup> *Vid.* II, p. 100.

*Confucius* said,<sup>1</sup> "When the music-master *Chih*<sup>2</sup> began and then came the finish (luan)<sup>3</sup> of the *Kuan-chü*,<sup>4</sup> how magnificent it was and how it filled the ears!"

The finish (luan) in our case refers to the sayings of *Confucius*. *Confucius* lived under the *Chou* and laid the foundation (of the Confucian doctrine); *Tung Chung Shu* under the *Han* finished it, in so far as it was not yet complete, and *Sse Ma Ch'ien* supplemented it here and there. That is the idea. In the collections of irregular verse and dithyrambs<sup>5</sup> every song has a refrain (luan), which amounts to the same. Since it was *Tung Chung Shu* who gave the last touch to the *Analects of Confucius*, we should not be surprised that his remarks on the offering of the rain sacrifice and the use of dragons have some meaning.

*Yen Yuan* said, "What man is *Shun*, and who am I?"<sup>6</sup>—Among the Five Emperors and Three Rulers *Shun* was his only ideal. He knew that he was pursuing the same goal. The ideals of the wise and virtuous and the aims of the silent scholar are in fact identical.

What *Tung Chung Shu* says about morals, virtue, and government deserves the highest praise, but as regards researches into every day life and discussions of the most common errors, *Huan Chün Shan*<sup>7</sup> stands unrivalled. *Tung Chung Shu's* writings may be equalled, but it would be very difficult to challenge *Huan Chün Shan*.

A Bayardo has his special features distinguishing him from other horses, or is a noble steed with a peculiar gait. There may be horses capable of running a thousand li, they will never be called Bayardos, because the colour of their hair differs from that of Bayardo. There may be men whose writings could be compared with those of *Tung Chung Shu*, or whose essays would rank close after those of *Huan Chün Shan*, yet they would not be like

<sup>1</sup> *Analects* VIII, 15.

<sup>2</sup> 雉.

<sup>3</sup> The music-master of *Lu*.

<sup>4</sup> The first Ode of the *Shiking*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the great number of such collections enumerated in the Catalogue of the *Han-shu*, chap. 30.

<sup>6</sup> Quotation from *Mencius* III, Pt. I, 1 (*Legge* Vol. II, p. 110).

<sup>7</sup> *Huan Chün Shan* = *Huan Tan*, a great scholar of the 1st cent. B.C. and A.D. People admired his large library. He incurred the displeasure of *Kuang Wu Ti*, whom he rebuked for his belief in books of fate, and was sentenced to banishment.

the two scholars, their names would always be different. A horse might learn to make a thousand li, it would not become a Bayardo or a Bucephalus thereby, and a man might aspire to sagehood and knowledge, he would not become a *Confucius* or a *Mé Ti* for the following reason:

It is very difficult to equal *Huan Chün Shan's* writings. When two blades cut one another, we see, which is sharp and which blunt, and, when two treatises are compared together, one finds out, which of the two is right and which wrong. This is the case of the "Four Difficulties"<sup>1</sup> by *Han Fei Tse*, the treatise on "Salt and Iron"<sup>2</sup> by *Huan K'uan*,<sup>3</sup> and the "New Reflections"<sup>4</sup> by *Huan Chün Shan*.

The statements of the people are often doubtful and untrue, yet some mistaken critics regard them as true, which leads to great dilemmas. If a judge deciding a case has his doubts about it, so that though giving his judgment he would hesitate to inflict a punishment, truth and untruth would not be determined, and right and wrong not established. Then people would be entitled to say that the talents of the judge were not sufficient for his post. If in ventilating a question one does not do it thoroughly, merely noting two doubtful opinions and transmitting them both, one does not do much to settle the question. Would it not be better then to break through the confusion and cut the Gordian knot, for words must be intelligible, and expressions convey a meaning?

*Confucius* wrote the *Ch'un-ch'iu* in such a way that he recommended the slightest good thing and blamed the smallest evil. Whenever there was anything praiseworthy, his words served to set forth its excellence, and whenever there was anything open to blame, he pointed out its badness with a view to stigmatise the action. The "New Reflections" fall in with the *Ch'un-ch'iu* in this respect. But the public prizes antiquity, and does not think much of our own times. They fancy that the modern literature falls short of the old writings. However, ancient and modern times are the same. There are men of great and of small talents, and there is truth and falsehood. If irrespective of the intrinsic value they only esteem what is old, this would imply that the ancients excelled our moderns. Yet men like *Tsou Po Ch'i* of *Tung-*

<sup>1</sup> Four chapters of *Han Fei Tse's* work, forming chap. 15 and 16, Nos. 36-39.

<sup>2</sup> *Yen-t'ieh-lun*, a treatise on questions of national economy.

<sup>3</sup> *Huan K'uan*, also called *Chén Shan Tse*, lived in the 1st cent. B.C.

<sup>4</sup> *Hsin-lun*.

*fan*, *Yuan T'ai Po* and *Yuan Wen Shu* of *Lin-huai*,<sup>1</sup> *Wu Chun Kao* and *Chou Chang Sheng* of *K'uei-chi*,<sup>2</sup> though they never attained the dignity of state-ministers, were all men of stupendous erudition and abilities and the most elegant and dashing knights of the pen.<sup>3</sup>

The *Yuan-sse* of *Tsou Po Chi*, the *Yi-chang-chü* of *Yuan T'ai Po*, the *Hsien-ming* of *Yuan Wen Shu*, the *Yüeh-yo* of *Wu Chun Kao*, and the *Tung-li* of *Chou Chang Sheng* could not be surpassed by *Liu Tse Cheng* or *Yang Tse Yun*. Men of genius may be more or less gifted, but there are no ancients or moderns; their works may be right or wrong, but there are no old or new ones. Although no special works have been written by men like *Ch'en Tse Hui* of *Kuang-ling*,<sup>4</sup> *Yen Fang*, *Pan Ku*,<sup>5</sup> at present clerk of a board, the officer of the censorate, *Yang Chung*, and *Chuan Yi*, their verses and their memorials are written in the most fascinating and brilliant style. Their poetry resembles that of *Ch'u Yuan*<sup>6</sup> and *Chia*,<sup>7</sup> their memorials those of *T'ang Lin* and *Ku Yung*.<sup>8</sup> Placed side by side, the beauty of their compositions proved to be the same. At present they are not yet illustrious, but after a hundred generations they will be on a par with *Liu Tse Cheng*<sup>9</sup> and *Yang Tse Yun*.<sup>10</sup>

*Li Sse* freely culled from the works of *Han Fei Tse*, and *Hou P'u Tse* did much to divulge the *T'ai-hsüan-ching* of *Yang Tse Yun*. *Han Fei Tse* and *Li Sse* belonged to the same school, and *Yang Tse Yun* and *Hou P'u Tse* lived at the same court.<sup>11</sup> They had an eye for what was remarkable and useful, and were not influenced in their opinions and judgments by considerations of time. Searching truth and seeking whatever was good, they made it their principle not to look too far for it, and not to despise those with whom

<sup>1</sup> A region in Anhui.

<sup>2</sup> A city in Chekiang.

<sup>3</sup> Nothing is known of these authors or their writings. The cyclopedias do not even mention their names.

<sup>4</sup> A place in Kiangsu.

<sup>5</sup> The historian *Pan Ku*, author of the *Han-shu* "History of the Former Han Dynasty," who died 92 A.D.

<sup>6</sup> Who wrote the famous poem *Li-sao* cf. I, p. 293.

<sup>7</sup> *Chia Yü*.

<sup>8</sup> *Ku Yung* lived in the 1st cent. B.C. As censor he remonstrated against the abuses of the court, and presented over forty memorials upon divine portents.

<sup>9</sup> *Liu Tse Cheng* = *Liu Hsiang*, 80-9 B.C., is a celebrated writer of the *Han* time, who did much for the preservation of ancient literature. Besides he wrote works on government and poetry.

<sup>10</sup> Wang Ch'ung's prediction has not proved true. The authors of his time, whom he praises so much, are all forgotten, *Pan Ku* alone excepted.

<sup>11</sup> At the court of the Emperor *Ch'eng* Ti 32-7 B.C.

they were working shoulder to shoulder. They had a great partiality for everything uncommon, and quite uncommon was the fame which they won thereby. *Yang Tse Yün* revised the *Li-sao*. He could not completely change a whole chapter, but whenever he found anything wrong, he altered it. Though it be impossible to read all the thirteen thousand chapters contained in the list of the Six Departments of Literature,<sup>1</sup> one may know at least their purport and take up for discussion some of those passages which give no proper sense.

<sup>1</sup> In the Catalogue of Literature, forming chapter 30 of the *Han-shu*, *Liu Hsin* divided the then existing body of literature under 7 heads: Classics, works on the six arts, philosophy, poetry, military science, divination, and medicine. Owing to the decline of the healing art under the *Han* dynasty, the last division was dropped, and no titles of medical books are given. There remained but the six divisions, mentioned in the text. Under these divisions were comprised 38 subdivisions with 596 authors, whose names and works are given in the Catalogue. Their writings contain 13,269 chapters or books.

## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

The Equality of the Ages (*Ch'i-shih*).

There is a saying that in ancient times people were tall, good-looking, and strong, and lived to become about a hundred years old, whereas in modern times they are short, ugly, cut off in their prime, and short-lived. The following cause is given:—In ancient times the harmonious fluid was in abundance. People married at the proper time. At their birth they received this good fluid, and therefore suffered no injuries afterwards. Their bones and joints being strong and solid, they grew tall, and reached a high age, and their outward appearance was beautiful. In later generations all this was reversed, therefore they were small, died young, and looked nasty.

This statement is preposterous. In ooden days the rulers were sages, and so they are in modern times. The virtue of the sages then and now does not differ, therefore their government in ancient and modern times cannot be different. The Heaven of antiquity is the Heaven of later ages. Heaven does not change, and its fluid has not been altered. The people of former ages are the same as those of modern times. They all are filled with the original fluid. This fluid is genuine and harmonious now as well as in days of yore, why then should their bodies, which are made of it, not be the same? Being imbued with the same fluid, they have the same nature, and their nature being the same, their physical frames must be alike. Their physical frames being alike, their outward appearance must be similar, and this being the case, their length of life cannot but be equal. One Heaven and one Earth conjointly produce all beings. When they are created, they all receive the same fluid. Its scarcity and abundance varies in all ages equally. Emperors and kings reign over successive generations, and all the different ages have the same principles. People marry at the same time and with similar ceremonies, for although

it has been recorded that men married at the age of thirty, and women at that of twenty, and though there has been such a rule for marriages,<sup>1</sup> it is not certain that it really has been observed. We can infer this from the fact that it is not observed now either. The rules for ceremonies and music have been preserved up to our days, but are the people of to-day willing to comply with them? Since they do not like to practise them, people of old have not done so either. From the people of to-day we learn to know the people of old.

Creatures are creatures. Man can live up to one hundred years, but very often we see boys who only reach the age of ten years. The lives of the creatures living on earth and their transformations at the utmost last one hundred years. When they approach this period, they die, which can always be observed. Between all these creatures and those who do not become older than ten years is no fundamental difference. If people of ancient and modern times do not differ, it must be possible to predetermine the length of their lives within the limit of one hundred years by means of divination.

In the height of the domestic animals, the size of the various kinds of grain, the reptiles, plants, trees, metals, stones, pearls, and jewels as well as in the creeping, wriggling, crawling, and panting of the various animals there is no difference, which means that their shape is identical. The water and the fire in olden days are the present water and fire. Now, the fluid changes into water or fire. Provided that there be a difference in the fluids, was the water pellucid, and the fire hot formerly, and is now the water opaque, and the fire, cold?

Man grows six to seven feet high, measures three to four spans in circumference, his face has five colours,<sup>2</sup> and his greatest age is one hundred years. During thousands and thousands of generations there is no change. Let us suppose that in ancient times men were tall, good-looking, strong, and long-lived, and that in later generations all this was reversed. Then, when Heaven and Earth were first established, and the first men were created, could they be as tall as the Prince of *Fang-fēng*,<sup>3</sup> as handsome as

<sup>1</sup> This seems to have been the rule under the *Chou* dynasty. Cf. *Liki*, *Nei-tsé* Sect. II (*Legge, Sacred Books* Vol. XXVII, p. 478).

<sup>2</sup> The complexion is yellowish, the lips are red, the teeth white, the hair black, and the veins are bluish.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. p. 95.

Prince *Chao* of *Sung*,<sup>1</sup> and as long-lived as *Pêng Tsu*.<sup>2</sup> And after thousand generations hence, will they be as small as flower-seeds, as ill-favoured as *Mu Mu*,<sup>3</sup> and as short-lived as an ephemeral fly?

Under the reign of *Wang Mang*<sup>4</sup> there was a giant ten feet high, called *Pa Ch'u*, and during the *Chien-wu*<sup>5</sup> period *Chang Chung Shih* in *Ying-ch'uan*<sup>6</sup> measured ten feet, two inches, and *Chang T'ang* over eight feet, whereas his father was not quite five feet high. They all belong to the present generation, and were either tall or small. The assertion of the Literati is wrong therefore and a mistake.

They say that in times of yore people were employed, as beffited them. Hunchbacks were used as gate-keepers, and dwarfs as actors. But, if all were tall and good-looking, where did the hunchbacks and the dwarfs come from?

It is further alleged that the natures of the people of the past were honest and easily reformed, whereas the culture of later ages is superficial, so that they are difficult to be governed. Thus the *Yiking* says that in the remote past, cords were knotted as a means of governing the people, which knots in later ages were replaced by books.<sup>7</sup> First knots were used, because reforms were easy, the books afterwards prove the difficulty of government. Prior to *Fu Hsi*,<sup>8</sup> the characters of the people were of the plainest kind:—They lay down self-satisfied, and sat up perfectly pleased. They congregated, and flocked together, and knew their mothers, but not their fathers.<sup>9</sup> At *Fu Hsi*'s time people had attained such a degree of refinement, that the shrewd attempted to deceive the simple-minded, the courageous would frighten the timid, the strong insult the weak, and the many oppress the few. Therefore *Fu Hsi* invented the eight diagrams for the purpose of restraining them. At the *Chou* epoch, the state of the people had

<sup>1</sup> A contemporary of *Confucius*, famous for his beauty (cf. *Analects* VI, 14), but of a perverse character. He committed incest with his half-sister *Nan Tse*, the wife of Duke *Ling* of *Wei*.

<sup>2</sup> The Chinese Methusaleh.

<sup>3</sup> The fourth wife of *Huang Ti*, an intelligent, but very ill-favoured woman.

<sup>4</sup> 9-23 A.D.

<sup>5</sup> 25-56 A.D.

<sup>6</sup> A circuit in *Anhui*

<sup>7</sup> *Yiking*, *Chi-t'se* II (Legge's translation p. 385).

<sup>8</sup> The most ancient mythical emperor.

<sup>9</sup> Does that mean that the pre-historic Chinese lived in a state of matriarchate or in polyandry like the Tibetans? We find the same notice in *Chuang Tse* chap. 29, p. 22v.

become very degenerate, and it was difficult to raise the eight diagrams to their former importance. Therefore King *Wen* increased their number to sixty-four. The changes were the principal thing, and the people were not allowed to flag. When, during the *Chou* epoch, they had been down for a long while, *Confucius* wrote the "Spring and Autumn," extolling the smallest good, and criticizing the slightest wrong. He also said, "*Chou*"<sup>1</sup> had the advantage of viewing the two past dynasties. How complete and elegant are its regulations. I follow *Chou*."<sup>2</sup> *Confucius* knowing that the age was steeped in sin, ill-bred, and hard to govern, made the strictest rules, and took the minutest preventive measures to repress the disrespectful, and everything was done in the way of restrictions.

This is absurd. Of old, people were imbued with the Five Virtues, and later generations were so likewise. They all had the principle of the Five Virtues in their hearts, and at birth were endowed with the same fluid. Why shall the natures of the former have been plain and honest, and the latter unmaunerly? The opponents have noted that in olden times people drank blood, and ate herbs, as they had no grain for food. In later ages they dug up the earth for wells, tilled the ground, and sowed grain. They drank from the wells, and ate grain, which they had prepared with water and fire. They also note that in remote antiquity people were living high up in caverns, and wrapt themselves in skins of wild beasts and birds. Later generations changed the caverns into houses and palaces, and bedecked themselves with cloth and silk fabrics. It is for this reason that they regard the natures of the former as plain and honest, and the later as ill-bred. The tools and the methods have undergone a change, but nature and its manifestations have continued the same. In spite of that, they speak of plainness of nature and the poorness of culture.

In every age prosperity alternates with decay, and, when the latter has gone on for a long time, it begets vices. That is what happens with raiment and food used by man. When a garment has just been made, it is fresh and intact, and food just cooked is clean and smells good. After a while, the garment becomes worn out, and after some days, the food begins to smell bad. The laws by which nature and culture were governed in the past and at the present, are the same. There is nature, and there is culture, sometimes there is prosperity, and sometimes decay. So it has been of yore, not only now. How shall we prove that?

<sup>1</sup> The *Chou* dynasty.

<sup>2</sup> *Analects* III, 14.

It has been put on record that the kings of the house of *Hsia*<sup>1</sup> taught faithfulness. The sovereign teaching faithfulness, good men were faithful, but, when the decline set in, common people became rude. To combat rudeness nothing is better than politeness. Therefore the kings of the *Yin* dynasty<sup>2</sup> taught politeness. The sovereign inculcating politeness, good men were polite, but when the decline began, common people became rogues. To repress roguishness nothing is better than education. Therefore the kings of *Chou*<sup>3</sup> taught science. The sovereign teaching science, good men were scholarly, but then came the decline, and common people became narrow-minded. The best antidote against narrow-mindedness is faithfulness, therefore the rulers succeeding the *Chou* dynasty ought to have recourse to faithfulness. The reforms of *Ya* continued by the *Hsia* dynasty, were labouring under narrow-mindedness, therefore it inculcated faithfulness. Since *Ya* based his reforms on science, roguishness must have been the defect of the people under his predecessors. Our contemporaries viewing the narrow-mindedness of our present culture, despise and condemn it, and therefore they say that in old times the natures of people were plain and honest, whereas the culture of later ages is narrow-minded. In the same manner, when the members of one family are not zealous, people will say that the members of other families are diligent and honest.<sup>4</sup>

It has been asserted that the ancients set high store in righteousness, and slighted their bodies. When an event happened that appealed to their sense of loyalty and justice, so that they felt it their duty to suffer death, they would jump into boiling water, or rush into the points of swords, and die without lament. Such was the devotion of *Hung Yen*,<sup>5</sup> and the honesty of *Pu Chan* of *Ch'en*,<sup>6</sup> who acted like this. Similar instances have been recorded in books. The cases of voluntary deaths, and self-sacrifices are very numerous, and not scarce. The people now-a-days, they believe, are struggling for gain only, and leading a wild life. They have discarded justice, and are not scrupulous as to the means

<sup>1</sup> 2205-1766 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> 1766-1122 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> 1122-249 B.C.

<sup>4</sup> People like to contrast, even though there be little difference between the things thus contrasted.

<sup>5</sup> A faithful minister of Duke *I* of *Wei*. Cf. p. 496.

<sup>6</sup> When in 546 B.C. *Chuang*, Duke of *Chi*, was murdered, *Pu Chan* drove to his palace and on hearing the affray, died of fright.

they employ in obtaining their ends. They do not restrain one another by righteousness, or vie in doing good. The disregard of justice they do not consider a source of danger, nor are they afraid of the consequences of their wrong doing.

This is nonsense. The heroes of ancient times are the heroes of the present age. Their hearts are equally sensible to benevolence and justice, and in case of any emergency they will be roused. In the past, there have been unprincipled characters, and at present there are persons with the keenest sense of honour. Goodness and badness are mixed, why should one age be devoid of either? The story-tellers like to extol the past, and disparage the present time. They make much of what they know by hearsay, and despise what they see with their own eyes. The disputants will discourse on what is long ago, and the literati write on what is far away. The curious things near at hand, the speakers do not mention, and the extraordinary events of our own time are not committed to writing.

When during a famine starved people were going to eat the elder brother of *Tse Ming*, a young man of *Lang-yeh*,<sup>1</sup> he bound and prostrated himself, and asked to be eaten in lieu of his brother. The hungry people so much admired his generosity, that they set them both free, and did not eat them. After the elder brother had died, he took his orphan son, and brought him up, and loved him as much as his own son. At a time of scarcity, when no grain was left, so that both boys could not be kept alive, he killed his own son by starvation, and preserved the life of the son of his elder brother. *Hsü Shu* of *Lin-huai*<sup>2</sup> also brought up the orphan son of his elder brother, and at a time of dearth allowed his own son to die of hunger in order to keep his brother's son alive. His magnanimity was like that of *Tse Ming*.

The father of *Meng Chang* in *K'uei-chi*,<sup>3</sup> *Ying*, was judicial secretary of the prefecture. When the general of the prefecture had beaten an innocent man to death, and the case came up for revision, *Ying* took the guilt upon himself, offered himself for punishment, and at last suffered death for the general. *Meng Chang* later on became civil secretary of a prefecture. He took part in a campaign against insurgents, but the soldiers were routed, and shot by the rebels. Thereupon he took the place of the commander, which he did not leave, until he was killed. Is there any difference from

<sup>1</sup> A place in *Shantung*.

<sup>2</sup> A circuit in *Anhui* province.

<sup>3</sup> A city in *Chekiang*.

the faithfulness of *Hung Yen* or the righteousness of *Pu Chan* of *Ch'en*? But would the writers of our own time deign to use these cases as examples? For illustrations in proof of their views they go up to *Yü* and the *Hsia* period, and down as far as the *Yin* and *Chou* dynasties. The exploits and remarkable feats of the *Ch'in* and *Han* epoch are already too modern for them, and fancy our own time, which comes after all the other ages, and what the narrators have seen with their own eyes! The painters like to paint men of ancient dynasties, and reject heroes of the *Ch'in* and *Han* epoch, however wonderful their deeds may have been. The scholars of the present age prize antiquity, and scorn the present. They value the snow-goose and disdain the fowl, because the snow-goose is from afar, and the fowl is near.

Provided that there were a moralist now more profound than either *Confucius* or *Mé Ti*, yet his name would not rank as high as theirs, and, if in his conduct he should surpass even *Tseng Tse* and *Yen Hui*, he would not be as famous as they. Why? Because the masses think nothing of what they see, but esteem what they know only by hearsay. Should there be a man now, just and generous to the highest degree, and should an inquiry into his actions prove that he is not outvied by anybody in the past, would the writers mention him in their works, showing that they give him credit for what he has done? Narrating marvellous stories, they would not wrong the ancients by taking their subjects from modern times, but would those who are fond of these stories put aside those books on antique lore and things far off, and take an interest in modern writings? *Yang Tse Yün* wrote the *T'ai-hsüan*, and composed the *Fa-yen*,<sup>1</sup> but *Chang Po Sung* did not deign to cast a look upon these books. As he was living with *Yang Tse Yün* shoulder to shoulder, he had a poor opinion of what he said. Had *Yang Tse Yün* lived prior to him, *Chang Po Sung* would have looked upon him as a gold safe.

One hears people say that the sages of old possessed most brilliant qualities, and accomplished wonderful works. Hence *Confucius* said, "Great indeed was *Yao* as a sovereign! How majestic was he! It is only Heaven that is grand, and only *Yao* corresponded to it. How vast was his virtue! The people could find no name for it. How majestic was he in the works which he accomplished! How glorious in the elegant regulations which he

<sup>1</sup> These two works of the philosopher *Yang Tse Yün* have come down to us. The more celebrated of the two is the *Fa-yen*, the *T'ai-hsüan*, *soi-disant* an elucidation of the *Yiking*, is very obscure.

instituted!"<sup>1</sup> *Shun* followed *Yao*, and did not impair his grand institutions, and *Yu* succeeded *Shun*, and did not mar his great works. Subsequently we come to *T'ang*. He rose in arms, and defeated *Chieh*, and *Wu Wang* took the battle-axe, and punished *Chou*.<sup>2</sup> Nothing is said about majesty or glory, we hear only of fighting and defeating. The qualities of these princes were bad, therefore they appealed to arms. They waged war, and neglected the arts of peace. That explains why they could not get along together. When the *Ch'in* and *Han* period arrived, swords were drawn, and conclusions tried everywhere. Thus *Ch'in* conquered the empire. When *Ch'in* was in possession of it, no felicitous omen appeared as the phoenix *e.g.*, which comes, when all the States are at peace. Does that not show their moral impotence and the poorness of their achievements?

This statement is unreasonable. A sage is born by a fusion of the fluids of Heaven and Earth; he does great things, when he takes the reins of government. But this fusion of the fluids does not only take place in the past and formerly in few instances; why then should a sage alone be good? The masses are inclined to cherish the past, and decry the present, to think nothing of what they behold, and very much of what they have heard. Besides, they see that in the Classics and other works the excellence of sages and wise men is painted in the most vivid colours, and that *Confucius* extols the works of *Yao* and *Shun* still more. Then they have been told that *Yao* and *Yu* abdicated, and declined the throne, whereas *T'ang* and *Wu* fought for it, and snatched it from their predecessors. Consequently they think that in olden times the sages were better than now, and that their works, and their civilizing influence was greater than in later times. The Classics contain highly coloured reports, and extravagant and exaggerated stories are current among the people. Those who study the Classics and read books all know this.

*Confucius* said, " *Chou's* wickedness was not so very great. Therefore the superior man hates to consort with base persons, for the faults of the whole world are laid to their charge."<sup>3</sup> People always will contrast *Chieh* and *Chou* with *Yao* and *Shun*. When they have any praise to bestow, they give it to *Yao* and *Shun*,

<sup>1</sup> *Analects* VIII, 19.

<sup>2</sup> When *Chou* was defeated, he burned himself on the "Deer Terrace." Afterwards *Wu Wang* shot three arrows at the corpse, struck at it with his sword, and with his battle-axe severed the head from the body. Cf. *Shi-chi* chap. 4, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> *Analects* XIX, 20.

and, when they speak of any wickedness, they impute it to *Chou* and *Chieh*. Since *Confucius* says that the wickedness of *Chou* was not so very great, we conclude that the virtue of *Yao* and *Shun* was not so extraordinary either. The resignation of *Yao* and *Shun* and the overthrow of the preceding dynasties by *T'ang* and *Wu* were predetermined by the fate of Heaven. It could not be achieved by goodness or badness, or be brought about by human actions. If *T'ang* and *Wu* had lived in the time of *Yao* and *Shun*, they would also have abdicated the throne instead of defeating their predecessors, and had *Yao* and *Shun* lived in the *Yin* and *Chou* dynasties, they would likewise have overthrown their opponents, and not have declined the throne. What has really been fate, is by people thoughtlessly described as goodness or wickedness. At the period, when according to the Classics all the States were living in harmony, there was also *Tan Chu*,<sup>1</sup> and when the phoenix made its appearance, there were at the same time the *Yu Miao*,<sup>2</sup> against whom every one had to take up arms and fight continually. How did goodness and wickedness or great and small virtue come in?

They say that the wickedness of *Chieh* and *Chou* was worse than that of doomed *Ch'in*, but, as a matter of fact, we must admit that as for wickedness doomed *Ch'in* was ahead of *Chieh* and *Chou*.<sup>3</sup> There is the same contrast between the excellence of the *Han* and the depravity of the *Ch'in* dynasty as between *Yao* and *Shun* on the one, and *Chieh* and *Chou* on the other side. Doomed *Ch'in* and *Han* belong both to the later generations. Since the wickedness of doomed *Ch'in* is worse than that of *Chieh* and *Chou*, we may infer that in virtue the great *Han* are not outrivaled by *Yao* and *Shun*. *Yao* consolidated the various States, but his work did not last. The phoenix which appeared under the reign of *Shun* was five times attracted by *Hsüan Ti*.<sup>4</sup> Under the reign of *Ming Ti* lucky omens and portents were seen in great numbers.<sup>5</sup> Omens appear, because there is high virtue. When the omens are equal, the achievements must be on a level too. Should *Hsüan Ti* and *Hsiao Ming Ti* be inferior and not come up to *Yao* and *Shun*, how could they evoke the omens of *Yao* and *Shun*?

<sup>1</sup> The degenerate son of virtuous *Yao*.

<sup>2</sup> Aboriginal tribes, against which *Shun* had to fight. *Vid.* p. 103.

<sup>3</sup> The hatred of the scholars of the *Han* time towards *Ch'in Shih Huang Ti* was still fresher and therefore more intense than their aversion to *Chieh* and *Chou*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. II, p. 140.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. II, p. 153.

Under *Kuang Wu Ti*<sup>1</sup> dragons rose, and phœnixes came forth. If, when he got the empire, things left in the street were picked up, did he not equal *T'ang* of the *Yin* and *Wu* of the *Chou* dynasty at least?

People say that *Ch'êng*<sup>2</sup> and *K'ang* of *Chou* did not impair the imposing works of *Wen Wang*, and that *Shun* in his glory did not mar the brilliant achievements of *Yao*. Our present sage and enlightened sovereign is continuing the blessings and the prosperity of the reigns of *Kuang Wu Ti* and *Hsiao Ming Ti*,<sup>3</sup> without the slightest symptom of a decline.<sup>4</sup> Why should he not rank with *Shun* and *Yü* in remote antiquity, and be on a par with *Ch'êng* and *K'ang* later on? It is because the Five Emperors and the Three Rulers lived previous to the classical writings, that the chronicles of the *Han* time look up to them, and that the writers imagine that in ancient times there were sages and excellent men, who accomplished great works, whereas later generations have declined, and that their culture is low.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. II, p. 146.

<sup>2</sup> The Emperor *Ch'êng* reigned from 1115 to 1078, *K'ang* from 1078 to 1052.

<sup>3</sup> The Emperor *Chang Ti*, 76-89 A.D., who succeeded *Ming Ti*. Under his reign the *Lun-héng* seems to have been written. *Vid.* II, p. 153 Note 3.

<sup>4</sup> The reigns of these three first sovereigns of the later *Han* dynasty were prosperous indeed.

## CHAPTER XXXIX.

Exaggerations (*Yü-tsêng*).

The Records say that Sages toil and trouble for the world, devoting to it all their thoughts and energies, that this harasses their spirits, and affects their bodies. Consequently *Yao* is reported to have been like shrivelled flesh, and *Shun* like dried food, whereas *Chieh* and *Chou* had an *embonpoint* over a foot thick. One may well say that the bodies of Sages working hard for the world, and straining their minds for mankind, are weakened, and that they do not become stout or fat, but to say that *Yao* and *Shun* were like dried flesh or food, and that the *embonpoint* of *Chieh* and *Chou* measured over a foot is exaggerating.

Duke *Huan* of *Chi* said:—"Before I had got hold of *Kuan Chung*, I had the greatest difficulties, after I had got him, everything was easy." Duke *Huan* did not equal *Yao* and *Shun*, nor was *Kuan Chung* on a par with *Yü* and *Hsieh*.<sup>1</sup> If Duke *Huan* found things easy, how could they have been difficult to *Yao* and *Shun*? From the fact that Duke *Huan*, having obtained the assistance of *Kuan Chung*, went on easily, we may infer that *Yao* and *Shun* after having secured the services of *Yü* and *Hsieh* cannot have been in difficulties. A man at ease has not many sorrows. Without sorrows he has no troubles, and if he is not troubled, his body does not wither.

*Shun* found perfect peace brought about by *Yao*, both carried on the virtues of the preceding generation and continued the pacification of the border tribes. *Yao* had still some trouble, but *Shun* could live at ease and unmolested. The *Book of History* says that the Supreme Ruler gave repose,<sup>2</sup> which refers to *Shun*, for *Shun* found peace everywhere, he continued the government, appointed intelligent officers, employed able men, and enjoyed a dignified repose, while the Empire was well administrated. Therefore Con-

<sup>1</sup> *Yü* and *Hsieh* were both ministers of *Yao* and *Shun*. *Yü* became emperor afterwards.

<sup>2</sup> *Shuking* Part V, Bk. XIV, 5 (*Legge, Classics* Vol. III, Pt. II, p. 455). The passage has been variously explained.

*fucius* exclaims:—"Grand were *Shun* and *Yü* who, possessing the Empire, did not much care for it."<sup>1</sup> In spite of this *Shun* is said to have been dried up like preserved meat, as though he had been lacking in virtue, and had taken over a state in decay like *Confucius*, who restlessly wandered about seeking employment, having no place to rest in, no way to walk, halting and tumbling down on the roads, his bones protruding.

*Chou* passed the whole night drinking. Sediments lay about in mounds, and there was a lake of wine. *Chou* was swimming in wine, stopping neither by day nor by night. The result must have been sickness. Being sick, he could not enjoy eating and drinking, and if he did not enjoy eating and drinking, his fatness could not attain one foot in thickness.

The *Book of History* remarks that debauchery was what they<sup>2</sup> liked, and that they could not reach a great age.<sup>3</sup> Prince *Wu Chi* of *Wei*<sup>4</sup> passed his nights feasting, but these excesses proved such a poison to him, that he died. If *Chou* did not die, his extravagance ought at least to have shattered his system. *Chieh* and *Chou* doing the same, ought to have contracted the same sickness. To say that their *embonpoint* was over a foot thick is not only an exaggeration, but an untruth.

Of *Chou* there is further a record that his strength was such, that he could twist iron, and straighten out a hook, pull out a beam, and replace it by a pillar. This is meant to be illustrative of his great strength.<sup>5</sup> Men like *Fei Lien* and *O Lai*<sup>6</sup> were much liked by him, and stood high in his favour, which is tantamount to saying that he was a sovereign very fond of cunning and strength, and attracted people possessing those qualities.

Now there are those who say that, when *Wu Wang* defeated *Chou*, the blades of his weapons were not stained with blood. When a man with such strength, that he could twist iron and

<sup>1</sup> *Analects* VIII, 18.

<sup>2</sup> The last emperors of the *Hsia* dynasty.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted from the *Shuking* Part V, Bk. XV, 7 (*Leyge, Classics* Vol. III, Pt. II, p. 468).

<sup>4</sup> Died 244 B.C. *Wu Chi* was a famous general of the *Wei* State, who inflicted some crushing defeats upon the armies of *Ch'in*. For some time he succeeded in checking the encroachments of *Ch'in*. It was not, until his later years, that he retired from public life, and gave himself up to debauchery.

<sup>5</sup> The *Shi-chi* chap. 3, p. 10 likewise ascribes superhuman forces and extraordinary natural endowments to the last ruler of the *Hsia* dynasty.

<sup>6</sup> *Fei Lien* and *O Lai* were two clever, but wicked counsellors of King *Chou*. In the *Shi-chi* chap. 3, p. 11v. *Fei Lien* is called *Fei Chung*.

straighten out hooks, with such supporters as *Fei Lien* and *O Lai* tried issues with the army of *Chou*,<sup>1</sup> *Wu Wang*, however virtuous he may have been, could not have deprived him of his natural abilities, and *Chou*, wicked though he was, would not have lost the sympathy of his associates. Although he was captured by *Wu Wang*, some ten or hundred people must have been killed or wounded at that time. If the blades were not stained with blood, it would contradict the report of *Chou's* great strength and the support he received from *Fei Lien* and *O Lai*.<sup>2</sup>

The auspicious portents of *Wu Wang* did not surpass those of *Kao Tsu*. *Wu Wang* saw a lucky augury in a white fish and a red crow,<sup>3</sup> *Kao Tsu* in the fact that, when he cut a big snake in two, an old woman cried on the road.<sup>4</sup> *Wu Wang* had the succour of eight hundred barons, *Kao Tsu* was supported by all the patriotic soldiers of the Empire, *Wu Wang's* features were like those of a staring sheep.<sup>5</sup> *Kao Tsu* had a dragon face, a high nose, a red neck, a beautiful beard and 72 black spots on his body.<sup>6</sup> When *Kao Tsu* fled, and *Lü Hou*<sup>7</sup> was in the marshes, she saw a haze over his head.<sup>8</sup> It is not known that *Wu Wang* had such an omen. In short, his features bore more auspicious signs than *Wu Wang's* look, and the portents were clearer than the fish and the crow. The patriotic soldiers of the Empire assembled to help the *Han*,<sup>9</sup> and were more powerful than all the barons.

*Wu Wang* succeeded King *Chou*, and *Kao Tsu* took over the inheritance of *Erh Shih Huang Ti* of the house of *Ch'in*, which was much worse than that of King *Chou*. The whole empire rebelled against *Ch'in*, with much more violence than under the *Yin* dynasty. When *Kao Tsu* had defeated the *Ch'in*, he had still to destroy *Hsiang Yu*. The battle field was soaked with blood, and many thousands of dead bodies lay strewn about. The losses of the

<sup>1</sup> The *Chou* dynasty which overthrew the *Shang* or *Yin* dynasty. The name of King *Chou Hsin* of the *Shang* dynasty has the same sound, but is quite a different character.

<sup>2</sup> According to the *Shi-chi* and the *Shuking* King *Chou* fled, when his troops had been routed by *Wu Wang*, and burned himself, dressed in his royal robes, in the palace. He was not caught by *Wu Wang*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. I, p. 310.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. I, p. 358.

<sup>5</sup> *Wu Wang* had large, staring sheep's eyes.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. II, p. 86.

<sup>7</sup> The wife of *Han Kao Tsu*.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. I, p. 358.

<sup>9</sup> The *Han* dynasty.

defeated army were enormous. People had, as it were, to die again and again, before the Empire was won. The insurgents were exterminated by force of arms with the utmost severity. Therefore it cannot be true that the troops of *Chou*<sup>1</sup> did not even stain their swords with blood. One may say that the conquest was easy, but to say that the blades were not stained with blood, is an exaggeration.

When the *Chou* dynasty conquered the empire of the *Yin*, it was written in the strategical book of *T'ai Kung*<sup>2</sup> that a young boy brought up [in the camp] *Tan Chiao* had said:—"The troops which are to destroy *Yin* have arrived in the plain of *Mu*.<sup>3</sup> At dawn they carry lamps with fat." According to the "Completion of the War"<sup>4</sup> the battle in the plain of *Mu* was so sanguinary, that the pestles<sup>5</sup> were swimming in the blood, and over a thousand Li the earth was red. After this account the overthrow of the *Yin* by the *Chou* must have been very much like the war between the *Han* and *Ch'in* dynasties. The statement that the conquest of the *Yin* territory was so easy, that the swords were not stained with blood is meant as a compliment to the virtue of *Wu Wang*, but it exaggerates the truth. All things of this world must be neither over- nor under-estimated. If we examine, how the facts follow one another, all the evidence comes forth, and on this evidence the truth or the untruth can be established.

People glorify *Chou's* force by saying that he could twist iron, and at the same time praise *Wu Wang*, because the weapons, with which he destroyed his opponent, were not blood-stained. Now, if anybody opposed his enemies with a strength that could twist iron and straighten out a hook, he must have been a match for *Méng Pén* and *Hsia Yü*,<sup>6</sup> and he who managed to defeat his adversary through his virtue without staining his swords with blood, must have belonged to the *Three Rulers* or to the *Five Emperors*.<sup>7</sup> Endowed with sufficient strength to twist iron, the one could not be compelled to submission, whereas the other, possessing such

<sup>1</sup> The *Chou* dynasty.

<sup>2</sup> *T'ai Kung Wang*, the counsellor of *Wu Wang*, laid the plans of the campaign against the *Yin* dynasty.

<sup>3</sup> This plain was situated in *Henan*.

<sup>4</sup> This is the title of the 3d Book of the 5th Part of the *Shuking*. (Cf. Legge, Classics Vol. III, Pt. II, p. 315.)

<sup>5</sup> With which the soldiers were pounding their rice.

<sup>6</sup> *Méng Pén* and *Hsia Yü* are both famous for their gigantic strength. The one could tear off the horns, the other the tail from a living ox. Both lived in the *Chou* epoch.

<sup>7</sup> The legendary rulers accomplished everything by their virtues.

virtue that his weapons were not reddened with blood, ought not to have lost one soldier. If we praise *Chou's* strength, *Wu Wang's* virtue is disparaged, and, if we extol *Wu Wang*, *Chou's* strength dwindles away. The twisting of iron and the fact that the blades were not covered with blood are inconsistent, and the praise bestowed simultaneously on the *Yin* and the *Chou* mutually clashes. From this incompatibility it follows that one proposition must be wrong.

*Confucius*<sup>1</sup> said:—" *Chou's* wickedness was not so very great. Therefore the superior man hates to consort with base persons, for the faults of the whole world are laid to their charge."<sup>2</sup> *Mencius* said:—" From the 'Completion of the War' I accept but two or three paragraphs. If the most humane defeated the inhumane, how could so much blood be spilt, that clubs swam in it?"<sup>3</sup> The utterance of *Confucius* would seem to uphold the swimming of clubs, whereas the words of *Mencius* are very much akin to the assertion that the weapons were not stained with blood. The first overshoots the mark, the second falls short of it. Thus a Sage and a Worthy<sup>4</sup> pass a judgment on *Chou*, but both use a different weight, and one gives him credit for more than the other.

*Chou* was not as depraved as *Wang Mang*.<sup>5</sup> *Chou* killed *Pi Kan*,<sup>6</sup> but *Wang Mang* poisoned the emperor *P'ing Ti*.<sup>7</sup> *Chou* became emperor by succession, *Wang Mang* usurped the throne of the *Han*. To assassinate one's sovereign is infinitely worse than the execution of a minister, and succession to the throne is quite different from usurpation. Deeds against which the whole people rose up, must have been worse than those of *Chou*. When the *Han* destroyed *Wang Mang*, their troops were exhausted at *K'un-yang*,<sup>8</sup> the deaths numbering ten thousand and more. When the forces reached the

<sup>1</sup> *Analects* XIX, 20. In our text of the *Lun-yü* these words are not spoken by *Confucius* himself, but by his disciple *Tse Kung*.

<sup>2</sup> A good man avoids the society of disreputable people, for every wickedness is put to their account, even if they be innocent. Thus King *Chou* has been better than his name, which has become a by-word for every crime. Cf. p. 87.

<sup>3</sup> *Mencius* Book VII, Pt. II, chap. 3. The most humane was *Wu Wang*.

<sup>4</sup> In the estimation of the Confucianists *Mencius* is only a Worthy, not a Sage like *Confucius*.

<sup>5</sup> *Wang Mang* the usurper reigned from 9 to 23 A.D.

<sup>6</sup> *Pi Kan* was a relative of *Chou*. When he remonstrated with him upon his excesses, *Chou* caused him to be disembowelled.

<sup>7</sup> 1-6 A.D.

<sup>8</sup> A city in southern *Honan*.

*Chien* terrace,<sup>1</sup> the blood made all the foot-prints and ruts invisible. Consequently it cannot be true that, when the *Chou* conquered the Empire, the weapons were not even stained with blood.

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It is on record that *Wen Wang* could drink a thousand bumpers of wine and *Confucius* a hundred gallons. We are to infer from this, how great the virtue of these Sages was, which enabled them to master the wine. If at one sitting they could drink a thousand bumpers or a hundred gallons, they must have been drunkards, and not sages.

In drinking wine there is a certain method, and the chests and stomachs of the Sages must have been of nearly the same size as those of others. Taking food together with wine, they would have eaten a hundred oxen, while drinking one thousand bumpers, and ten sheep would correspond to a hundred gallons. If they did justice to a thousand bumpers and a hundred oxen, or to a hundred gallons and ten sheep, *Wen Wang* must have been as gigantic as the Prince of *Fang-feng*<sup>2</sup> and *Confucius* like a Great *Ti*.<sup>3</sup> *Wen Wang* and *Confucius* did not equal the Prince of *Fang-feng* or the Great *Ti* in length. Eating and drinking such enormous quantities with small bodies would be derogatory to the grandeur of *Wen Wang*, and undignified in *Confucius*. According to the Chapter "Chiu Kao,"<sup>4</sup> *Wen Wang* would say morning and evening:—"pour out this wine in libation."<sup>5</sup> This shows how careful *Wen Wang* was about wine. Because he was so careful morning and evening, the people were converted thereby. Had his advice to be careful only been for outside, while he himself emptied a thousand bumpers at home, the efforts to educate the people and his subjects would have been in vain. And how would he have distinguished himself from the depravity of *Chou*, whose successor he was?

Moreover, at what time should the thousand bumpers and the hundred gallons have been drunk? When *Wen Wang* and *Con-*

<sup>1</sup> A terrace near *Chang-an-fu*, where *Wang Mang* made his last stand.

<sup>2</sup> A feudal prince of gigantic size said to have lived under the Emperor *Jü*, who put him to death. Cf. *Han Fei Tse* chap. 19, p. 11v.

<sup>3</sup> *Ti* is a general name for northern barbarians. The *Shuking*, *Hung-fan*, 五行, speaks of a *Ti* measuring over 50 feet, *Ku Liang* of three *Ti* brothers, of which one was so enormous, that his body covered 9 *Mou*.

<sup>4</sup> I. e. "Announcement about wine." 酒誥.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. I, p. 309.

*fucius* offered wine in sacrifice? Then the sacrificial meat would not have sufficed to satiate them. At the shooting-feast? At the shooting-feast there were certain recognised rules for drinking wine.<sup>1</sup> If at a private banquet they gave their guests wine to drink, they must have given to all their inferiors equally. The emperor would first take three cups, and then retire. Drinking more than three, he would have become intoxicated, and misbehaved himself. But *Wén Wang* and *Confucius* were men to whom propriety was everything. If they had given so much to their attendants, that they became drunk and disorderly, they themselves taking a thousand bumpers of wine or a hundred gallons, they would have been like *Chieh* and *Chou* or, to say the least, drunkards. How could they then have manifested their virtues and improved others, how acquired a name still venerated by posterity?

There is a saying that the virtuous do not become intoxicated. Seeing that the Sages possess the highest virtue, one has wrongly credited *Wén Wang* with a thousand bumpers and foolishly given a hundred gallons to *Confucius*.

*Chou* is reported to have been an incorrigible tippler. The sediments lay about in mounds. He had a lake full of wine,<sup>2</sup> and filled three thousand persons with liquor like cattle. Carousing he made night day, and even forgot the date.

*Chou* may have been addicted to drink, but he sought pleasure. Had his wine-lake been in the court-yard, then one could not say that in carousing he made night day. This expression would only be correct, if he shut himself up in his rooms behind closed windows, using candle-light. If he was sitting in his rooms, he must have risen and gone to the court-yard each time he wished to drink, and then returned to his seat, an endless trouble, which would have deprived him of all enjoyment. Had the wine-lake been in the inner apartments, then the three thousand people must have been placed close to the lake. Their amusement would have consisted in bowing down to drink wine from the lake, and in rising to taste the dainty dishes, singing and music being in front

<sup>1</sup> The shooting-feasts referred to are the competitions of archery, held in ancient times at the royal court, at the feudal courts, and at the meetings in the country. A banquet was connected with these festivities. Cf. *Legge, The Li K* (Sacred Books of the East Vol. XXVII) p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> This wine-lake is mentioned in the *Shi-chi* chap. 3, p. 10v.

of them. If they were really sitting quite close to the lake, their drinking in front would have interfered with their dining, and the concert could not have been in front. Provided that at the banquet they had thus unmannerly sucked wine from the lake like oxen, they would not have required any cups during the dinner, and would also have gulped down and devoured the food like tigers. From this we see that the wine-lake and the drinking like cattle are mere stories.

There is another tradition that *Chou* had made a forest by hanging up meat, and that he caused naked males and females to chase each other in this forest,<sup>1</sup> which would be drunken folly, and unrestrained debauchery. Meat is to be put into the mouth. What the mouth eats, must be clean, not soiled. Now, if, as they say, naked males and females chased each other among the meat, how could it remain clean? If they were drunk, and did not care, whether it was clean or not, they must have bathed together in wine, and then run naked one after the other among the meat. Why should they not have done this? Since nothing is said about their bathing in wine, we may be sure that neither did they chase each other naked among the meat.

There is another version to the effect that wine was being carried about in carts and roast-meat on horseback, and that one hundred and twenty days were reckoned one night. However, if the account about the wine-lake is correct, it cannot be true that the wine was transported in carts, and if the meat was suspended so, as to form a forest, the statement that roast-meat was carried about on horseback must be wrong.

It may have happened that, when *Chou* was flushed with drink, he overturned the wine, which spread over the floor, whence the story of the wine-lake. When the wine was distilled, the sediments were heaped up, therefore the tale that the sediments lay in mounds. Meat was hung up in trees, thence the report that a forest was made of meat. The shade and darkness of this forest may sometimes have been visited by people with the intention of doing things shunning the light of day, which led to the belief that they chased each other naked. Perhaps wine was transported once on a deer-carriage,<sup>2</sup> which would account for the story that wine was being

<sup>1</sup> Quoted from the *Shi-chi* chap. 3, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> A royal carriage ornamented with deers.

carried about in carts, and roast-meat on horseback. The revelry may have extended once over ten nights, hence the hundred and twenty days. Perhaps *Chou* was intoxicated and out of his mind, when he inquired, what day it was. Then people said that he had forgotten dates altogether.

When *Chou Kung*<sup>1</sup> invested *K'ang Shu*<sup>2</sup> he spoke to him about *Chou's* wine drinking,<sup>3</sup> wishing that he should know all about it, and take a warning, but he did not mention the mounds of sediments, or the wine-lake, or the forest made of meat, or the revelries lasting far into the morning, or the forgetting of dates. What the Sages do not mention, is most likely unfounded.

As an instance of *Chou's* perversity it is recorded that he sucked wine from the wine-lake like an ox, together with three thousand people. The *Hsia* dynasty had a hundred (metropolitan) officials, the *Yin* two hundred, the *Chou* three hundred. The companions of *Chou's* Bacchanals were assuredly not common people, but officials, and not minor officials, but high ones. Their number never could reach three thousand. The authors of this report wished to dispraise *Chou*, therefore they said three thousand, which is a gross exaggeration.

There is a report that the Duke of *Chou*<sup>4</sup> was so condescending that with presents he called on simple scholars, living in poor houses, and inquired after their health. As one of the three chief ministers, a prop to the imperial tripod,<sup>5</sup> he was the mainstay of the emperor. Those scholars were persons of no consequence in their hamlets. That a prime minister should have flung away his dignity as supporter of the dynasty in order to do homage to common scholars, cannot be true. May be, that he treated scholars with courtesy and condescension, and was not haughty towards

<sup>1</sup> *Tan*, Duke of *Chou*, a younger brother of *Wu Wang*.

<sup>2</sup> *K'ang Shu* was the first prince of the *Wei* State (*Honan*), which he governed until 1077 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Shuking* Part V, Book X, 11 (*Legge, loc. cit.* p. 408).

<sup>4</sup> *Chou Kung*.

<sup>5</sup> The sacrificial tripod is the emblem of royalty. The three chief ministers are likened to its three feet.

poor people, hence the report that he waited upon them. He may have raised a scholar of humble origin, and received him with his badge in hand. People then said that he came with presents and waited upon his family.

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We have a tradition that *Yao* and *Shun* were so thrifty, that they had their thatched roofs untrimmed, and their painted rafters unhewn. Thatched roofs and painted rafters there may have been, but that they were untrimmed or unhewn, is an exaggeration. The Classic says, "I<sup>1</sup> assisted in completing the Five Robes."<sup>2</sup> Five Robes means the five-coloured robes. If they put on five-coloured robes, and at the same time had thatched roofs and painted rafters, there would have been a great discrepancy between the palace buildings and the dresses. On the five-coloured robes were painted the sun, the moon and the stars. Consequently thatched roofs and painted rafters are out of the question.

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It is on record that *Ch'in Shih Huang Ti* burned the Books of Poetry and History,<sup>3</sup> and buried the Literati alive. This means that by burning the Books of Poetry and History he eradicated the Five Classics and other literary works. The Literati thus thrown into pits were those, they say, who had concealed the Classics and other works. When the books were burned, and the men thrown into pits, Poetry and History were extinguished. The burning of the Books of Poetry and History and the assassination of the Literati are indisputable. But the allegation that, for the purpose of destroying those books, the men were put to death, is not correct, and an exaggeration.

In the 34th year of his reign<sup>4</sup> *Ch'in Shih Huang Ti* gave a banquet on the terrace of *Hsien-yang*.<sup>5</sup> Seventy Literati came to wish him long life. The *Pu-yeh*,<sup>6</sup> *Chou Ch'ing Ch'en*, delivered a

<sup>1</sup> The Emperor *Yu*.

<sup>2</sup> Quotation from the *Shuking*, *Yi Chi* Pt. II, Bk. IV, 8 (*Legge* Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 85). Modern commentators and *Legge* explain 五服 as "five land tenures," *Wang Ch'ung* as the Five State Robes worn by the Emperor and the officials, which are mentioned a few paragraphs before our passage (*Legge*, *loc. cit.* p. 80).

<sup>3</sup> The *Shiking* and the *Shuking*.

<sup>4</sup> 213 B.C.

<sup>5</sup> Near *Hsi-an-fu* in *Shensi*.

<sup>6</sup> An official title.

speech, enlogising the emperor's excellence, whereupon *Shun Yü Yueh* of *Ch'i* stepped forward, and reproached *Ch'in Shih Huang Ti* for not having invested his kinsmen and meritorious officials, to use them as his assistants.<sup>1</sup> He accused *Chou Ch'ing Ch'en* of open flattery. *Ch'in Shih Huang Ti* directed the premier *Li Sse* to report on the matter. *Li Sse* blamed *Shun Yü Yueh*, saying that the scholars did not care to learn the exigencies of modern times, but were studying antiquity with a view to condemn everything new, and to excite the masses. *Li Sse* proposed that the Historiographers be authorized to burn all the books except the Annals of *Ch'in*, and also to make an exception in favour of the officials in charge of the Imperial College. All the books on poetry, history, philosophy,<sup>2</sup> and jurisprudence, which people had dared to conceal, were to be brought to the governors and burned together. Those who perchance should dare to discourse on poetry and history, would be executed and publicly exposed. Should anybody hold up antiquity and decry the present time, he was to be destroyed together with his clan. Officials who saw or knew of such cases without interfering, were to suffer the same penalty. *Ch'in Shih Huang Ti* approved of it.

The next year, which was the 35th of the emperor's reign, the scholars in *Hsien-yang* spread all kinds of false rumours. *Ch'in Shih Huang Ti* had them tried by the censors. Those who gave information about their accomplices, and denounced others, got free themselves. 467 delinquents were all thrown into pits.<sup>3</sup>

The burning of the Books of Poetry and History was the consequence of *Shun Yü Yueh*'s recriminations. The deaths of the literati were due to the rumours divulged by the scholars. Seeing 467 men perish in pits the chronicler went a step farther, stating that the literati were murdered for the purpose of doing away with poetry and history, and even saying that they were all thrown into pits. That is no true report but also a highly coloured one.

<sup>1</sup> The abolition of feudalism was much disliked by the Literati.

<sup>2</sup> The text says, the "discussions of the hundred authors," which means the writers on philosophy and science.

<sup>3</sup> Various translations of this last passage have been proposed. Cf. *Chavannes*, *Mém. Hist.* Vol. II, p. 181 Note 2.

The foregoing narration is abridged from *Shi-chi* chap. 6, p. 21v et seq. Our text speaks of 467 scholars, whereas the *Shi-chi* mentions but 460 odd, and it uses the word 坑 "to throw into a pit" instead of the vaguer term 壮元. So perhaps *Wang Ch'ung* has not culled from the *Shi-chi*, but both have used the same older source.

There is a tradition to the effect that "field by field were treated as *Ching K'o's* hamlet." They say that at the instigation of Prince *Tan* of *Yen*,<sup>1</sup> *Ching K'o* made an attempt on the life of the King of *Ch'in*.<sup>2</sup> The latter afterwards caused the nine relations<sup>3</sup> of *Ching K'o* to be put to death. But his vindictive wrath was not yet appeased thereby, and he subsequently had all the inhabitants of *Ching K'o's* village killed, so that the whole village was exterminated. Therefore the expression "field by field." This is an exaggeration.

Although *Ch'in* was lawless, the king had no reason to exterminate the entire village of *Ching K'o*. *Ch'in Shih Huang Ti* once visited his palace on the *Liang-shan*.<sup>4</sup> From its height he perceived that the carriages and the horsemen of his prime-minister *Li Sse* were very gorgeous. This made him angry, and he gave utterance to his disapproval. The attendants informed *Li Sse*, who forthwith diminished his carriages and men. *Ch'in Shih Huang Ti* thus became aware that his words had leaked out through the servants, but did not know who the culprit was. Thereupon he had all the persons near him arrested, and put to death.<sup>5</sup> Later on, a meteor fell down in *Tung-chün*,<sup>6</sup> and when it touched the earth, became a stone. Some one engraved upon the stone the inscription:—"When *Ch'in Shih Huang Ti*'s dies, the territory will be divided." When the Emperor heard about it, he ordered the censors to ask the people one by one, but nobody confessed. Then all persons found near the stone were seized and executed.<sup>7</sup>

If the Emperor executed his attendants in the Palace on the *Liang* Mountain and all the persons near the stone, he destroyed them all, because he wished to find those who had divulged his words, or engraved the stone, but could not discover them. But what had the village of *Ching K'o* done to *Ch'in* to be exterminated? If the King of *Ch'in* had been stabbed in the village, and the assailant was unknown, there might have been a wholesale execu-

<sup>1</sup> A State in Chili.

<sup>2</sup> In 227 B.C. *Ching K'o* made an unsuccessful attempt on *Ch'in Shih Huang Ti*'s life, who at that time was still king of *Ch'in*. It was not before 221 that, having vanquished all the rival States, he assumed the imperial title.

<sup>3</sup> All the ascendants and descendants from the great-great-grandfather to the great-great-grandson.

<sup>4</sup> A mountain in the province of *Shensi*.

<sup>5</sup> Quoted from *Shi-chi* chap. 6, p. 24.

<sup>6</sup> A circuit or province comprising the south of Chili.

<sup>7</sup> A quotation from *Shi-chi* chap. 6, p. 25v. Cf. II, p. 12.

tion. But *Ching K'o* was already dead, the would-be-assassin found, why then should all the villagers suffer for him?

During the 20th year of *Ch'in Shih Huang Ti's* reign *Ching K'o*, the envoy of *Yen*, attempted to assassinate him, but the King of *Ch'in* got wind of it, and caused *Ching K'o* to be torn to pieces as a warning. There is no mention of the entire destruction of his village.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps he gave orders to behead the nine relations of *Ching K'o*. If these were many, and living together in one hamlet, this hamlet may have been wiped out by their execution. People fond of exaggerations then said:—"field by field."

<sup>1</sup> The *Shi-chi* does not mention it.

## CHAPTER XXXX.

Exaggerations of the Literati (*Ju-tséng*).

In the books of the Literati we find the statement that the virtue of *Yao* and *Shun* was so great and wonderful, that perfect peace reigned on earth, and not a single person was punished; and further that, since *Wén Wang* and *Wu Wang* bequeathed their greatness to *Ch'eng* and *K'ang*,<sup>1</sup> the instruments of punishment were laid aside, and not used for over forty years.<sup>2</sup> The idea is to praise *Yao* and *Shun*, and to extol *Wén Wang* and *Wu Wang*. Without high-flown words one deems to be unable to applaud greatness, as it deserves, and without some figures of speech, to do justice to what has been achieved. But however excellent *Yao* and *Shun* have been, they could not manage that nobody was punished, and with all their superiority *Wén Wang* and *Wu Wang* could not do without punishments. That there were few offences committed, and punishments seldom, may be true. But that nobody was punished, and that the instruments of punishment were not used, is an exaggeration.

If it could be contrived, that nobody was punished, it could be brought about also, that no State was attacked. If the instruments of punishment were put aside and not used, arms also could be laid down, and would not be required. However, *Yao* attacked *Tan-shui*,<sup>3</sup> and *Shun* fought against the *Yu Miao*.<sup>4</sup> Four nobles had to submit,<sup>5</sup> and instruments of punishment as well as weapons were resorted to. At the time of *Ch'eng Wang* four States rebelled:—the *Huai*, *I*, *Hsü*, and *Jung*<sup>6</sup> all brought misfortune upon themselves. To punish a man, one uses a sword, to exterminate

<sup>1</sup> *Ch'eng* was the successor of King *Wu Wang*. He reigned from 1115–1078 B.C., and was succeeded by *K'ang* 1078–1052.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Shi-chi* chap. 4, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> A place in Honan.

<sup>4</sup> The aboriginal *Miao* tribes which exist still to-day.

<sup>5</sup> *Shun* banished *Kung Kung*, *Huan Tou*, the prince of the *San Miao* and *K'un*. Cf. *Mencius V*, Pt. II, 3 and *Shuking* Pt. II, I, 12.

<sup>6</sup> The *Huai*, *I*, and *Jung* were non-Chinese tribes; *Hsü* is the name of one of the Nine Provinces of Yü, in modern Shantung.

him, arms. The punishment is a matter of criminal law, the extermination of fighting. Fighting and criminal law do not differ, weapons and swords are the same. Even an able dialectician could not discover a difference. Against depravity arms are used, against lawlessness instruments of punishment. These latter bear the same relation to weapons as feet do to wings. Walking, one uses one's feet, flying, one's wings. Though different in shape, both of them equally move the body; in the same manner instruments of punishment and weapons combined serve to check the evil. Their effect is the same.

The allegation that no arms were used implies the idea, that no penalties were meted out. Should a man with defective ears, but intact eyes be said to be in possession of a perfect body, we would not admit that, and if some one being an excellent tiger-hunter, but afraid of striking a man, were called brave by reason of this tiger-hunting alone, we would not agree to it. Only in case of the body having no defects and the courage facing whomsoever, there is perfection. Now, they say that nobody was punished, but not that no weapon was used. Much fuss is made about the fact, that instruments of punishment were put aside, and not used, but no mention made, that nobody rebelled. Therefore, we cannot speak of wonderful virtue or greatness.

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The books of the Literati tell us that *Yang Yu Chi*<sup>1</sup> of *Ch'u* was very remarkable at archery. Shooting at an aspen leaf, with a hundred shots he hit it a hundred times. This is of course said in praise of his brilliant shooting. That, whenever he aimed at an aspen leaf, he hit it, may be so, but to say, that out of a hundred shots a hundred hit the mark, is an exaggeration.

An aspen leaf hit by an arrow over and over again, would soon be so perforated, that it could no more serve as a target. If *Yang Yu Chi* had shot at an aspen leaf, as it was hanging on the tree, he would always have hit one, though not that which he wanted, there being such a multitude of them. Consequently he would be obliged to take the leaves down, and place them one by one on the earth to shoot at them. After several ten shots, his dexterity would have been seen. The spectators would all have become aware of his skill at archery, and would not have required a hundred shots.

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<sup>1</sup> A minister of the *Ch'u* State in the *Chou* epoch.

Narrators are fond of adorning dexterity and other accomplishments. If any one hit thirty and more times, they say a hundred. A hundred and a thousand are big numbers. Wishing really to say ten, they say a hundred, and in lieu of a hundred, a thousand. The meaning is the same as, when the *Shuking* speaks of the "harmony of the ten thousand countries" or the *Shiking* of the "thousand and hundred thousand descendants."

We learn from the writings of the Literati that there was a loyal official in *Wei*:—*Hung Yen*, who was sent abroad as envoy of Duke *Ai* of *Wei*.<sup>1</sup> Before he returned, the *Ti*<sup>2</sup> had attacked, and killed the duke, and eaten his flesh, leaving only the liver. When *Hung Yen* returned from his mission, he reported himself to the liver. Out of sorrow, that Duke *Ai* had died, and was eaten up, so that his liver had no resting-place, he took a knife, ripped up his stomach, took all its contents out, put the liver of Duke *Ai* in, and expired. Those telling this story intend to praise his loyalty. It is possible that he ripped himself open, put Duke *Ai's* liver in, and died. To say that he took out all the contents of the stomach, and put in the liver of Duke *Ai*, is an exaggeration.

If people stab one another with knives, and hit the Five Intestines, they die. Why? Because the Five Intestines regulate the Vital Fluid; just as the head is the centre of all the arteries. When the head has been cut off, the hands cannot take another man's head, and put it on the neck. How then should *Hung Yen* be capable of first emptying his own stomach, and then putting in the liver of Duke *Ai*? When the contents of the stomach have been taken out, death ensues. Then the hands can no more grasp. If he first put in the liver of Duke *Ai*, and then took out the contents of the stomach, then it ought to be said, that he put in the liver of Duke *Ai*, and emptied his stomach. But now it is first mentioned that the contents of the stomach were completely taken out, and that the liver of Duke *Ai* was put in, which is a gross exaggeration of truth.

<sup>1</sup> This must be a misprint, for no Duke of this name is known. The *Lü shih chün chiu*, which mentions the story, speaks of Duke *I* of *Wei*, 667-659 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> The northern barbarians.

We read in the books of Literati, that, when *Hsiung Ch'u Tse*<sup>1</sup> of *Ch'u* once went out, he saw a stone lying on the ground, which he took for a crouching tiger. He grasped his bow, and shot at it. The arrow disappeared up to the feathers.<sup>2</sup> Others relate that *Yang Yu Chi*<sup>3</sup> saw a stone stretched like a rhinoceros. He shot at it, and the arrow was absorbed with the plumes. Some hold that *Hsiung Ch'u Tse* is *Li Kuang*.<sup>4</sup> *Yang Yu Chi* and *Li Kuang* must give their names, and one does not discover, that the story is not true.

Some speak of a tiger, some of a rhinoceros. Both being fierce animals, it amounts to the same. Some say, that the feathers disappeared, some, that the plumes were absorbed. Plumes are feathers, only the wording is a little different. The chief idea is that a stone resembled a tiger or a rhinoceros, and that out of fright the arrow was shot with such force, that it entered deep. One may say, that a stone resembled a tiger, and that, when shot at, the arrow entered deep. But to maintain that it disappeared up to the feathers is going too far. Seeing something like a tiger, one regards it as such, draws the bow, and shoots at it with the utmost force and energy. The aspect of a real tiger would have quite the same effect. Upon shooting a stone resembling a tiger the arrow should enter so completely, that nothing of the feathers could be seen. Would then, when hitting a real tiger, the arrow pass straight through its body? It is difficult to pierce a stone, whereas with flesh it is very easy. If the feathers vanished in a substance difficult to be pierced, there could be no doubt that an arrow must traverse a stuff affording no obstacle.

A good marksman can shoot at great distances, and hit the smallest object, not missing one line. But how could he give greater force to the bow or the cross-bow? *Yang Yu Chi* shot at the Marquis of *Chin* in a battle, and hit him in the eye.<sup>5</sup> A commoner aiming at a ruler of ten thousand chariots would certainly strain his nerves to the utmost, and double his forces, not less

<sup>1</sup> *Hsiung Ch'u Tse* lived during the *Chou* dynasty.

<sup>2</sup> This story is told in the *Hsin-hsü* of *Liu Hsiang*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above p. 104.

<sup>4</sup> A general of *Han Wu Ti*, cf. I, p. 348.

<sup>5</sup> The *Tso-chuan*, Duke *Ch'eng* 16th year (*Legge, Classics Vol. V, Pt. I, p. 397*) informs us that in a battle fought by the Marquis of *Chin* against King *Kung* of *Ch'u* in 574 B.C. I of *Lü*, an archer of *Chin*, shot at King *Kung* of *Ch'u* and hit him in the eye. The king thereupon ordered his own archer, *Yang Yu Chi*, to revenge him, handing him two arrows. With the first arrow *Yang Yu Chi* killed I.

According to this account it was not the Marquis of *Chin*, who was hit in the eye, but the King of *Ch'u*, and not *Yang Yu Chi* shot the arrow, but I of *Lü*.

than, when shooting at the stone. Could then the arrow hitting the eye of the Marquis pass through to the neck? If it had done, the Marquis of *Ch'in* would have died on his chariot.

I presume that an arrow projected from a ten stones ballista,<sup>1</sup> would not enter one inch into a stone, and split into three pieces. Now, should a weak bow be drawn with human force, how could the feathers disappear in the stone, though the Bowman used all his strength?

Human energy is a fluid, and this fluid a force. When in distress of fire or water people are very fluttered and frightened, and carry away their belongings, their energies reach their maximum. If, at ordinary times, they could carry one picul, they then carry two. Now, provided that, when shooting at the stretched out stone, the energy is doubled, the arrow nevertheless could not enter deeper than one inch. The disappearance of the feathers is out of the question.

Let us suppose that a good swordsman beholds a stone lying on the ground, gets frightened, and strikes it. Could he cut it asunder? Or let a brave man, who would tackle a tiger with his unarmed fist, unexpectedly catch sight of such a stone, and hammer down on it with his hand. Would he leave any trace on the stone?

The strength of clever people is equal to that of the stupid, the earnestness of purpose of the ancients like that of the moderns. If now-a-days an archer shoots animals and birds in the country, he spares no force to get them. Yet, when he hits an animal, the blow enters only some inches. If it slips and hits a stone, the sharp point does not enter, and the arrow breaks to pieces. Accordingly the statements in the books of the Literati to the effect that *Hsiung Ch'u Tse* of *Ch'u*, *Yang Yu Chi*, and *Li Kuang* shot at a stone lying on the ground, and that the arrow disappeared up to the feathers, or was engulfed together with the plumes, are all exaggerations.

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In the writings of the Literati we find the notice that *Lu Pan*<sup>2</sup> was as skilful as *Mé Tse*.<sup>3</sup> From wood he carved a kite, which

<sup>1</sup> The force of a bow, a cross-bow, or a ballista is measured by the weight required to draw them.

One stone or one picul in ancient times amounted to 120 pounds.

<sup>2</sup> A celebrated mechanie of the *Lu* State, who lived contemporaneously with Confucius. *Lu Pan* is his sobriquet, his proper name being *Kung Shu Tee*. He has become the tutelary god of artisans.

<sup>3</sup> The philosopher *Mé Ti* has been credited with mechanical skill, erroneously I presume.

could fly three days without coming down. It may be, that he made a kite of wood, which he flew. But that it did not alight for three days, is an exaggeration. If he carved it from wood, he gave it the shape of a bird. How then could it fly without resting? If it could soar up, why did it do so just three days? Provided there was a mechanism, by which, once set in motion, it continued flying, it could not have come down again. Then people ought to say that it flew continually, and not three days.

There is a report that *Lu Pan* by his skill lost his mother. That is to say, the clever artisan had constructed a wooden carriage and horses with a wooden charioteer for his mother. When the mechanism was complete, he put his mother in the carriage, which drove off to return no more. And thus he lost his mother. Provided the mechanism in the wooden kite was in order, it must have been like that of the wooden carriage and horses. Then it would have continued flying without rest. On the other hand, a mechanism works but for a short while, therefore the kite could not have continued flying much longer than three days. Then the same holds good with regard to the wooden carriage, it also ought to have stopped after three days on the road, and could not go straight on, so that the mother was lost. Both stories are apparently untrustworthy.

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In some books the statement is made that *Confucius* had no resting-place in this world. Wandering about he visited over seventy States, where he attempted to gain influence, but nowhere he found repose. One may well say, that he wandered about, and found nothing, but to say, that he came to seventy States, is going too far. According to the *Analects* and the works of other philosophers he returned from *Wei*<sup>1</sup> to *Lu*. In *Ch'en*<sup>2</sup> his supplies were exhausted, in *Wei* his traces were obliterated.<sup>3</sup> He forgot the taste of food in *Ch'i*,<sup>4</sup> a tree was felled over him in *Sung*,<sup>5</sup> and besides there are

<sup>1</sup> A State in northern *Honan*.

<sup>2</sup> A State comprising the southern part of *Honan*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. I, p. 335.

<sup>4</sup> "When the Master was in *Ch'i*, he heard the *Shao* music, and for three months he did not know the taste of flesh," so engrossed was he was this music, that he did not taste what he ate (*Legge, Analects* p. 199; *Analects* VII, 13).

<sup>5</sup> The emissaries of a high officer of *Sung* tried to kill *Confucius* by pulling down the tree under which he was practising ceremonies. Cf. *Legge, Analects* p. 202 Note 22.

*Pi*<sup>1</sup> *Tun*,<sup>2</sup> and *Mou*.<sup>3</sup> These States, which he visited, do not even amount to ten. The statement about seventy States is therefore unreliable. Perhaps he went to more than ten States. Then the report about seventy States was spread in books, and people now talk of seventy States.

We read in the *Analects*<sup>4</sup> that *Confucius* asked *Kung Ming Chia* about *Kung Shu Wen Tse*<sup>5</sup> saying, "Is it true that your master does not speak, nor laugh, nor take anything?"—*Kung Ming Chia* replied, "That is a misrepresentation. The Master speaks, when it is time, and people do not dislike his words. He laughs, when he is merry, and people are not displeased with his laugh. He takes things, when he has a right to do so, and people are not dissatisfied." *Confucius* exclaimed, "How is it possible! How is it possible!" In fact *Kung Shu Wen Tse* spoke at the proper time, laughed when pleased, and took what he was entitled to. Out of this fact, which became known, people made the story that *Kung Shu Wen Tse* did neither speak, nor laugh, nor take anything. When common people tell a thing, they always like to overdo it.

We read in some books that when Duke *Mu* of *Ch'in*<sup>6</sup> invested *Cheng*, he passed through *Chin* without borrowing a passage. Duke *Ihsiang* of *Chin*<sup>7</sup> therefore intended to strike a blow at him with the help of the *Chiang Jung*<sup>8</sup> in the *Yao* passes.<sup>9</sup> When no horses nor carriages came back, *Ch'in* sent out three high officers: *Meng Ming Shih*, *Hsi Chi'shu*, and *Po Yi Ping*, who all returned. Since they came back, the horses and carriages must have come back likewise. The report to the contrary is an exaggeration.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A city in southern *Shantung*.

<sup>2</sup> A territory in *Ch'en*.

<sup>3</sup> A princedom in *Shantung*.

<sup>4</sup> *Analects XIV*, 14.

<sup>5</sup> *Kung Shu Wen Tse* was a high officer in the State of *Wei*, and *Kung Ming Chia* would seem to have been his disciple.

<sup>6</sup> 658-619 B.C.

<sup>7</sup> 626-619 B.C.

<sup>8</sup> Western barbarians.

<sup>9</sup> A dangerous defile in the district of *Yung-ning*, *Honan*.

<sup>10</sup> According to the *Ch'un-chiu*, Duke *Ihsien* 33d year, the army of *Ch'in* was defeated at *Yao* in 626 B.C. The *Tso-chuan* narrates the campaign in detail, and relates that the three officers were first taken prisoners, but afterwards released by the intercession of the mother of the Duke of *Chin*, who was a princess of the ducal house of *Ch'in*.

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We are told in several books that the Princes of *Meng Ch'ang* in *Chi*,<sup>1</sup> *Hsin Ling* in *Wei*, *P'ing Yuan* in *Chao*, and *Ch'un Shén* in *Ch'u*<sup>2</sup> treated their retainers with great kindness, and attracted them from everywhere, each 3000 men. This is meant to illustrate their kindness and the great conflux. That the number of retainers was very great, is possible, but that they amounted to 3000, an exaggeration. For, although the four princes had a partiality for retainers, and though the latter assembled in great numbers, yet each one could not have more than about a thousand. Then the books made it three thousand. For a great many, people will say a thousand, and in case of a small number, not a single one. That is the common practice, and thus misstatements originate.

There is a tradition, that *Kao Tse Kao*<sup>3</sup> mourning his father, shed bloody tears, and that for three years he did not show his teeth. To an honest man this would seem to be rather difficult;<sup>4</sup> for it is not easily done. He would not consider it untrue, but only difficult, and therein he is mistaken.

That *Kao Tse* shed bloody tears, is probably true. *Ho* of *Ching*<sup>5</sup> offered a precious stone to the Prince of *Ch'u*, who cut off his foot. Distressed that his jewel did not find favour, and that his feelings were not appreciated he wept, until his tears were dried up, when he continued weeping with tears of blood. Now *Kao Tse* bewailed the death of his father. His grief was extreme. It must be true that, when his tears ceased, blood came out, but the saying that for three years he did not show his teeth, is an exaggeration.

These words mean that *Kao Tse* did not speak nor laugh. That a filial son, while mourning his parents, should not laugh, is only natural, but how can he avoid speaking, and when speaking, avoid showing his teeth?

*Confucius* said: "What he said, was not elegant, and at times he did not speak at all." Then it was reported, that he did not show his teeth, or even, that for three years he did not show his

<sup>1</sup> Cf. I, p. 341.

<sup>2</sup> These four princes are known as the "Four Heroes," living at the end of the *Chou* epoch, during the time of the "Contending States," the 3rd century B.C.

<sup>3</sup> *Kao Ch'ai* or *Kao Tse Kao*, was a disciple of *Confucius*, noted for his filial piety.

<sup>4</sup> Quotation from the *Li-ki*, *Tan Kung* Sect. I, II, 14.

<sup>5</sup> *Ho* of *Ching* i.e. of *Ch'u*, known as *Pien Ho* viz *Ho* of the *Pien* district. Cf. I, p. 293.

teeth. *Kao Tsung*<sup>1</sup> while in the mourning shed did not speak for three years.<sup>2</sup> He enjoyed imperial majesty. That he did not speak means to say, that he did not use elegant expressions, and even that seems doubtful, and is perhaps an exaggeration. On the other hand *Kao Tse Kao* held a very humble position, yet he is believed not to have shown his teeth, which is certainly still more exaggerated.

The Literati write in their books that *Ch'in Hsi* recommended *Po Li Hsi* to Duke *Mu*<sup>3</sup> who, however, did not pay attention to it. Then *Ch'in Hsi* went out of the front door, bowed down his head, and knocked it on the ground, so that it broke to pieces, and died. This affected Duke *Mu* so deeply, that he took *Po Li Hsi* into his service. The meaning of this story is that a worthy in recommending a good man did not spare his own life, knocking his head on the ground, that it broke, and died, all with the object to further his friend.

With this story scholars use to exhort one another, and it is handed down in their books. Nobody discredits it. That somebody kotows, while recommending a good man, has happened of old, as it happens now. It is true that *Ch'in Hsi* knocked his head, but the allegation that he broke it, and expired is an exaggeration.

When a man kotows, that his head aches, and the blood comes out, he cannot fracture his skull, however angry and agitated he may be. I do not maintain, that the skull cannot be broken, but man has not sufficient strength to do it alone. With a knife one may cut one's throat, or with a blade pierce one's bosom. By means of the knife or the blade the hand acquires the necessary strength. If *Ch'in Hsi* had taken a hammer, and smashed his skull, there would be nothing wonderful in it. To fall down, and smash his skull *Ch'in Hsi* would not have had the necessary strength. There have been people who died while prostrating themselves, but none who broke their heads or smashed their skulls. Perhaps *Ch'in Hsi* performed the kotow, while recommending *Po Li Hsi*, which gave rise to the story of his death, or he really died, while kotowing, hence the idle talk of people that he broke his head.

<sup>1</sup> Posthumous title of the *Shang* emperor *Wu Ting*. See II, p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted from the *Shuking*, *Wu Yi* Pt. V, Bk. XV, 5 (*Legge* Vol. III, Pt. II, p. 466).

<sup>3</sup> Duke *Mu* of *Ch'in*, 658-619 B.C.

The books of the Literati tell us that for the Prince of *Yen*, *Ching K'o* attempted to assassinate the King of *Ch'in*. He struck him with a stiletto, but did not hit. The King of *Ch'in* then drew his sword and struck him. When *Ching K'o* assaulted the King of *Ch'in* with a stiletto, he did not hit his adversary, but a copper pillar, into which the dagger entered a foot deep. With these words one wishes to emphasize the sharpness of the stiletto.

*Ching K'o* was a powerful man. He thrust the sharp blade, so that it penetrated into the hard pillar. In order to exalt *Ching K'o*'s courage people have coloured the real facts. It is true that the stiletto went into the copper pillar, but the assertion that it entered a foot deep, is an exaggeration, for, although copper does not possess the hardness of a dagger, the latter cannot penetrate deeper than some inches, but not one foot.

Let us consider the question, in case he had hit the King of *Ch'in*, would he have run the dagger through him? Pulling a ten stones ballista with a windlass and shooting at a wooden target in a wall, one would not perforate it to the extent of one foot. With force of hand *Ching K'o* thrust a small stiletto. While he himself was struck by the *Lung-yuan* sword,<sup>1</sup> the dagger entered into the hard copper pillar.<sup>2</sup> Then *Ching K'o*'s force was stronger than that

<sup>1</sup> A famous sword forged by *Ou Yeh* and *Kan Chiang*, in later times a term for a good blade in general. Cf. II, p. 158.

<sup>2</sup> The *Shi-chi* chap. 86, p. 16v. gives us a graphic description of the assault of *Ching K'o* on *Shih Huang Ti*. When at a reception the envoy of *Yen* presented a map to the king, the latter caught sight of the dagger, which *Ching K'o* had concealed. Then *Ching K'o* "with his left hand grasped the sleeve of the King of *Ch'in*, and with his right hand the dagger, and was going to strike the king, but, before he touched his body, the king frightened, retreated, and rose, tearing off his sleeve. He tried to draw his sword, but the sword was very long, and while engaged with the scabbard, he was so excited, and the sword was so hard, that he could not draw it out at the moment. *Ching K'o* chased the king, who ran round a pillar. The assembled officers were thunderstruck. They all rose in a body, but were so much taken by surprise, that they completely lost their heads. By the rules of *Ch'in* the officers, waiting upon the king in the palace hall, were not allowed to carry the smallest weapon with them. The armed guards were all stationed below the hall, but, without a special order, they were not permitted to walk up. At the critical moment there was no time to summon the soldiers below. This is the reason, why *Ching K'o* could pursue the king, and that his attendants, though startled, did not strike the assailant. They all seized him with their hands, however, and the royal physician *Hsia Wu Chü* flung his medicine bag, which he was presenting, against him. While the King of *Ch'in* was thus fleeing round the pillar, all were alarmed, but did not know what to do. The attendants only shouted, 'Push your sword backwards, King! Push your sword backwards!' The king then drew his sword, and hit *Ching K'o*, cutting his left leg. *Ching K'o* maimed then lifted his dagger and thrust it at

of the ten stones ballista, and the copper pillar softer than the wooden target. The courage of *Ching K'o* is made much of, but there is no mention that he possessed great strength. Of strong men there is none like *Mêng Pén*. Would *Mêng Pén*, if he had struck a copper pillar, have cut it one foot deep? Perhaps the stiletto was as sharp as the famous swords *Kan-chiang* and *Mo-ya*,<sup>1</sup> whose thrusts and blows nothing could withstand, and that therefore it really penetrated one foot deep. Unfortunately the praise bestowed on *Kan-chiang* and *Mo-ya* also overshoot the mark, and are much akin to the foot deep cutting of the copper pillar.

We learn from the works of the Literati that *Tung Chung Shu*<sup>2</sup> while reading the *Ch'un-chiu* was so absorbed in his study, that he did not think of anything else, and for three years did not cast a look at the greens in the garden. That he did not look at the greens in the garden may be true, but the three years are an exaggeration. Although *Tung Chung Shu* was very industrious, yet he must have relaxed from time to time, and at such moments he also would have sauntered about his court-yard. Strolling out into the court-yard, why should he have disdained to gaze at the greens in the garden?

I have heard that persons engrossed in some idea, and studying some question, do not appear in public, and that for a principle some have lost their lives, but I never heard, that they did not go into the court-yard, and were sitting rapt in thoughts for three years, without ever looking at the garden. In the *Wu-yi* Chapter of the *Shuking* it is said that the good man does not find repose, because he foresees the troubles of the harvest.<sup>3</sup> If he reposes nevertheless, it is because his nerves and bones are not of wood or stone, and must be unstrung from time to time. Hence *Wen Wang* never strained his nerves without slackening them again, nor did

the king, but missed him, and instead hit the copper pillar. Then the King of *Ch'in* dealt him another blow, and thus *Ching K'o* received eight wounds. Seeing that his scheme had failed, he leant against the pillar. Weeping, he squatted down, and said .... At that moment the attendants came forward, and killed *Ching K'o*.

<sup>1</sup> Two swords wrought by the noted sword-cutler *Kan Chiang* for *Ho Lü*, king of *Wu* 513-494 B.C. *Mo-ya* was the name of his wife. The *Kan-chiang* sword was regarded as the male, the *Mo-ya* as the female sword.

<sup>2</sup> An author of the 2nd century B.C.

<sup>3</sup> Quotation from the *Shuking*, *Wu-yi* Pt. V, Bk. XV, 1 (*Legge* Vol. III, Pt. II, p. 464).

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he slacken without subsequent straining. An interchange of activity and passivity was in his eyes the right thing. If even the brilliant mental faculties of the Sages had to relax after an effort, *Tung Chung Shu*, whose strength was much less than that of those men, could not well concentrate his thoughts for three years without repose.

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The books of the Literati contain a statement to the effect that at the time when the *Hsia* Dynasty had reached its prime, distant countries sent pictures of their products, and the nine provinces metal as tribute. From this tripods were cast, on which all kinds of objects were represented. The consequence was, that, when people went into forests or to lakes, they did not meet spectres, and they could thereby ward off the influences of evil spirits. The Emperor and his subjects being in harmony, heaven gave its protection.<sup>1</sup>

Metal is by nature a thing. The tribute metal from distant places was thought very beautiful, and therefore cast into tripods, on which all sorts of curious objects were depicted. How could this have the effect that people in forests or by lakes did not meet with spectres, and could ward off the evil influences of spirits? During the *Chou* time there was universal peace. The *Yueh-shang*<sup>2</sup> offered white pheasants to the court, the *Japanese*<sup>3</sup> odoriferous plants. Since by eating these white pheasants or odoriferous plants one cannot keep free from evil influences, why should vessels like bronze tripods have such a power?

The appearance of the Nine Tripods was an auspicious sign of high virtue.<sup>4</sup> Yet the wearing of a felicitous object does not attract happiness. Boys use to wear jade-stones, girls pearls, yet neither pearls nor jewels can guard mankind against evil. Precious and rare things are used as excellent charms and amulets, and they are regarded by some as very useful. The same is maintained in regard to the Nine Tripods. They cannot ward off evil in-

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<sup>1</sup> Abridged from the *Tso-chuan*, Duke *Hui*an 3rd year.—From the *Hsia* dynasty these tripods came down to the *Shang* and the *Chou* dynasties, and in 605 B.C. were still in existence.

<sup>2</sup> A people in the southern part of *Kuang-tung* province, near the *Annamese* frontier.

<sup>3</sup> The *Wo*, an old name for the Japanese, which Chinese authors have explained to mean "Pygmies."

<sup>4</sup> The virtue of the Emperor *Yu*.

fluences, the report to the contrary is an exaggerated statement in the afore-mentioned books.

There is a popular tradition that the tripods of *Chou* boiled of themselves without fire, and that things could be taken out of them, which had not been put in. That is a popular exaggeration. According to the exaggerated statement in the books of the Literati the Nine Tripods, having nothing peculiar, would possess supernatural powers without any reason.

What proof would there be for this assertion? The metal of the *Chou* tripods came from afar as tribute. *Yü* obtained it and caused it to be wrought into tripods. On the tripods a great many things were represented. If as a tribute from distant lands they were spiritual, why should things from distant countries be spiritual? If they were so, because *Yü* cast them, *Yü* himself, though a Sage, could not be a spirit, how then should cast vessels be? If they were, because they were made of metal, metal is like stone, but stone cannot be spiritual, why then should metal be? If they were spirits, because they were covered with pictures of all kinds of things, these pictures are like the lightning of the Thunder Goblet.<sup>1</sup> On this goblet were carved clouds and thunder. They are in the sky and much more spiritual than ordinary things. Since the representations of clouds and lightning are not spirits, the pictures of various things cannot be either.

It is on record that, when *Ch'in* extinguished *Chou*, the Nine Tripods of *Chou* fell into the power of *Ch'in*. In fact, during the reign of King Nan,<sup>2</sup> King Chao of *Ch'in*<sup>3</sup> sent his general *Chiu* to attack *Nan Wang*. The latter terrified, hastened to *Ch'in*, prostrated himself, confessed his guilt, and ceded all his cities, 36 with 30,000 souls. *Ch'in* accepted the gift, and allowed King *Nan* to go home. At his death the king of *Ch'in* seized the Nine Tripods and other precious utensils.<sup>4</sup> Thus the tripods came to be in *Ch'in*.<sup>5</sup> In the 28th year of his reign *Ch'in Shih Huang Ti* travelled north-

<sup>1</sup> A sacrificial vessel used during the *Hsia* dynasty.

<sup>2</sup> 314-255 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> 305-249 B.C. The full name of this king is *Chao Hsiang*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the parallel passage in *Shi-chi* chap. 4, p. 39 where, however, not *Nan Wang*, but the Prince of the Eastern *Chou* submits to *Ch'in* and cedes his territory.

<sup>5</sup> In 255 B.C. Vid. *Shi-chi* chap. 28, p. 8.

ward to *Lang-yeh*.<sup>1</sup> On his return he passed *P'êng-ch'êng*,<sup>2</sup> and by feasting prepared himself for a sacrifice. Wishing to get the Tripods of *Chou* out, he sent a thousand men to plunge into the *Sse* River,<sup>3</sup> but all searching was in vain.<sup>4</sup>

*Ch'in Shih Huang Ti* came three generations after King *Chao*. At that time there was neither disorder nor rebellion in *Ch'in*, and the tripods ought not to have disappeared. That they might have done perhaps during the *Chou* time. The report says that King *Nan* hurried to *Ch'in*, and that *Ch'in* seized the Nine Tripods. Perhaps there is a mistake in time.

There is another tradition that when the *T'ai-ch'iü*<sup>5</sup> altar to the spirits of the land disappeared in *Sung*, the tripods went down in the river below the city of *P'êng-ch'êng*.<sup>6</sup> Twenty-nine years later *Ch'in* united the Empire.<sup>7</sup> Such being the case, the tripods would not have come into the possession of *Ch'in*, and must have been lost from the *Chou* already.

They were not spirits. During the "Spring and Autumn" period, five stones fell down in *Sung*. These five stones were stars. The separation of stars from heaven is like the disappearance of the tripods from earth. The stars falling down from heaven did not thereby become spirits, why then should the tripods vanishing from earth, acquire spiritual powers? In the "Spring and Autumn" time, three mountains vanished in the same manner as the *T'ai-ch'iü* altar disappeared. Five stars descended from heaven in *Sung*, three mountains vanished, five stones fell down, and the *T'ai-ch'iü* altar disappeared. All these events were brought about by causes residing in these things. The loss of the tripods was also the effect of some cause. One must not regard them as spirits merely on account of their disappearance. If the tripods resembled the three mountains of *Ch'in*, their disappearance is no sufficient reason, why they should be spirits. If they really possessed knowledge, and wished to avoid the disastrous revolution, the reigns of *Chieh* and *Chou* would have been the proper time for that.

The disorganisation and lawlessness were never worse than under *Chieh* and *Chou*, but at that time the tripods did not dis-

<sup>1</sup> The eastern part of *Shantung* under the *Ch'in* dynasty.

<sup>2</sup> A city in *Kiangsu*, the modern *Heü-chou-fu*.

<sup>3</sup> A river in *Shantung*.

<sup>4</sup> Quotation from the *Shi-chi* chap. 6, p. 18.

<sup>5</sup> *T'ai-ch'iü* was a place in the *Yung-ch'êng* district, *Honan*.

<sup>6</sup> *P'êng-ch'êng* does not lie on the *Sse* River, but on another small river.

<sup>7</sup> In 221 B.C. Then the tripods would have been lost in 250 B.C.

appear. The decadence of the kings of *Chou* was far from that of *Chieh* and *Chou*. Yet the tripods remained with the dissolute *Chieh* and *Chou*, and left the declining *Chou*.<sup>1</sup> They did not stay nor leave at the proper time, and gave no sign of being spirits, endowed with knowledge.

It is possible that, at the collapse of the *Chou*, the men of General *Chiü*, who were in great number, saw the tripods, and stole them, and that some miscreants melted them, and made them into other objects, so that, when *Ch'in Shih Huang Ti* searched for them, he could not find them. Subsequently they were called spirits, which gave rise to the story that they were sunk in the *Sse* River.

[Under the reign of the Emperor *Hsiao Wén Ti*<sup>2</sup> a man of *Chao*, *Hsin Yuan P'ing* addressed a memorial to the throne saying, "The *Chou* tripods are lost in the midst of the *Sse* River. Now the *Huang-ho* overflows, and communicates with the *Sse*. In a north-easterly direction near *Fēn-yin* I perceive a metallic fluid. I presume it to be an angury of the *Chou* tripods' return. But unless fetched, they will not come out."]

Thereupon *Hsiao Wén Ti* sent a special envoy to superintend a temple south of *Fēn-yin*<sup>3</sup> near the River, in the hope that a spirit would bring the *Chou* tripods. Others denounced *Hsin Yuan P'ing*, showing that, what he had said about the supernatural vessels, was an imposture. Then *Hsin Yuan P'ing* was delivered to a tribunal, which sentenced him to death.<sup>4</sup>] The statement that the tripods are in the *Sse* is like the imposture of *Hsin Yuan P'ing* that he saw the spiritual fluid of the tripods.

<sup>1</sup> Viz. the *Chou* dynasty.

<sup>2</sup> 179-156 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> A place in *Shansi*, in the present *Wan ch'üan hsien*.

<sup>4</sup> Quotation from the *Shi-chi* chap. 28, p. 20.

## CHAPTER XLI.

Sacrifices to the Departed (*Sse-yi*).

The world believes in sacrifices, imagining that he who sacrifices becomes happy, and he who does not, becomes unhappy. Therefore, when people are taken ill, they first try to learn by divination, what evil influence is the cause. Having found out this, they prepare sacrifices, and, after these have been performed, their mind feels at ease, and the sickness ceases. With great obstinacy they believe this to be the effect of the sacrifices. They never desist from urging the necessity of making offerings, maintaining that the departed are conscious, and that ghosts and spirits eat and drink like so many guests invited to dinner: When these guests are pleased, they thank the host for his kindness.

To prepare sacrifices is quite correct, but the belief that spirits can be affected thereby is erroneous. In reality the idea of these oblations is nothing else than that the host is anxious to manifest his kindness. The spirits are not desirous of tasting the offerings, as I am about to prove.

Our sacrifices are for the purpose of showing our gratitude for benefits enjoyed. In the same manner we are kind to living people, but would the latter therefore wish to be treated to a dinner? Now those to whom we present sacrifices are dead; the dead are devoid of knowledge and cannot eat or drink. How can we demonstrate that they cannot possibly wish to enjoy eating and drinking?

Heaven is a body like the Earth. Heaven has a number of stellar mansions, as the Earth has houses. These houses are attached to the body of the Earth, as the stellar mansions are fixed to the substance of Heaven. Provided that this body and this substance exist, then there is a mouth, which can eat. If Heaven and Earth possess mouths to eat, they ought to eat up all the food offered them in sacrifice. If they have no mouths, they are incorporeal, and being incorporeal, they are air like clouds and fog. Should the spirit of Heaven and Earth be like the human spirit, could a spirit eat and drink?

A middle-sized man is seven to eight feet<sup>1</sup> high and four to five spans in girth. One peck of food and one peck of broth are enough to satisfy his appetite and his thirst. At the utmost he can consume three to four pecks. The size of Heaven and Earth is many ten thousand Li. Cocoon millet, ox rice<sup>2</sup> cakes, and a big soup are offered them on round hills, but never more than several bushels. How could such food appease the hunger of heaven and earth?

Heaven and Earth would have feelings like man. When a man has not got enough to eat, he is vexed with his host, and does not requite him with kindness. If we hold that Heaven and Earth can be satiated, then the sacrifices presented to them in ancient times were derogatory to their dignity.

Mountains are like human bones or joints, Rivers like human blood. When we have eaten, our intestines are filled with food, which forms abundance of bones and blood. Now, by the oblations made to Heaven and Earth, Mountains and Rivers are also satiated along with Heaven and Earth, yet Mountains and Rivers have still their special sacrifices, as if they were other spiritual beings. That would be like a man who, after having eaten his fill, would still feed his bones and his blood.

We thank the Spirits of the Land and Grain for their kindness in letting grain and other organisms grow. The ten thousand people grow on earth, as hair does on a body. In the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth the Spirits of the Land and Grain are therefore included. Good men revere them, and make to them special offerings. They must hold that they are spirits. In this manner man ought to specially feed his skin and flesh likewise.

The origin of the Five Sacrifices<sup>3</sup> is the Earth. The Outer and Inner Doors are made of wood and earth, both substances growing from earth. The Well, the Hearth, and the Inner Court of the house all depend on earth. In the sacrifice to the Earth, these Five Sacrifices are therefore comprised. Out of veneration a good man prepares special oblations for them, being convinced undubitably that they are spirits. But that would be, as if a man, after having appeased his appetite, were still specially feeding his body.

<sup>1</sup> Ancient Chinese feet, which are much smaller than the modern.

<sup>2</sup> Large kinds of rice and millet.

<sup>3</sup> The Five Sacrifices of the house often mentioned in the *Liki*.

The Gods of Wind, Rain, and Thunder<sup>1</sup> are a special class of spirits. Wind is like the human breath, rain like secretions, and thunder like borborygmus. These three forces are inherent in heaven and earth, therefore they partake of the sacrifices to the latter. Pious men make special offerings to them as a mark of respect, regarding them as spiritual beings. Then a man ought to feed still his breath, his secretions, and his borborygmus.

The Sun and the Moon are like human eyes, the Stars like human hair. These luminaries being attached to heaven, they are included in the sacrifices presented to the latter. Out of piety good men honour them with special sacrifices regarding them, no doubt, as spirits. That would be tantamount to our still feeding our eyes and hair after having satisfied our appetite.

The ancestral temple is the place of one's forefathers. During their life-time they are diligently and reverently maintained and nourished by their children, and after their deaths the latter dare not become unfaithful, and therefore prepare sacrifices. Out of consideration for their ancestors they attend their dead to show that they have not forgotten their forefathers. As regards the sacrifices to the Five Emperors and the Three Rulers like *Huang Ti* and *Ti K'u*, they were offered in appreciation of their mighty efforts and great accomplishments, for people did not forget their virtues. This, however, is no proof that there really are spirits, who can enjoy offerings. Being unable to enjoy, they cannot be spirits, and not being spirits, they cannot cause happiness nor unhappiness either.

Happiness and unhappiness originate from joy and anger, and joy and anger proceed from the belly and the intestines. He who possesses a belly and intestines, can eat and drink, and he who cannot eat and drink, has no belly and no intestines. Without a belly and intestines, joy and anger are impossible, and in default of joy and anger, one cannot produce happiness and unhappiness.

Somebody might object that odours cannot be eaten. I reply that smelling, eating, and drinking are very much the same. With the mouth one eats, and with the mouth one likewise smells. Unless there be a belly and intestines, there is no mouth, and without a mouth one cannot eat nor smell either.

How can we demonstrate that smelling is out of the question?

When some one offers a sacrifice, and others pass by, they do not immediately become aware of it. Unless we use the mouth,

<sup>1</sup> *Féng Po*, the Prince of the Wind, *Yü Shih*, the Master of Rain, and *Lei Kung*, the Thunderer. Their sacrifices are determined in the *Chou* ritual.

we must use the nose for smelling. When with the mouth or the nose we smell something, our eyes can see it, and what our eyes perceive, our hands can strike. Now, in case the hands cannot strike, we know that the mouth and the nose cannot smell.

Another objection might be raised. When Duke *Pao* of *Sung*<sup>1</sup> was sick, the priest said, "Yeh Ku will direct the service of the discontented spirit." The ghost leaning on a pole addressed Yeh Ku saying, "Why are my vessels not filled with plenty of rice? Why are the grazing animals for the sacrifice not big and fat? Why are the sceptres and badges not of the proper measure? Is it your fault or *Pao's*?"

"*Pao* is still an infant in swathing cloth," replied Yeh Ku with a placid face, "who understands nothing about this. For how could he know or give any directions?"

The angry spirit lifted his pole and struck Yeh Ku dead on the steps of the altar.—Can this not be considered a proof of his having been able to use his hand?

It is not certain that Yeh Ku's death was caused by the blow of a discontented ghost. Just at that moment he was doomed to die; an apparition took the shape of a malignant ghost, and being shaped like a ghost, it had to speak like a ghost, and it also dealt a blow like a ghost. How do we know?

A ghost is a spirit, and spirits are prescient. Then after having remarked that the sacrificial vessels were not full of rice, the sceptres and badges not of the proper size, the victims lean and small, the ghost, being prescient, ought to have reproached Yeh Ku and struck him with the pole. There was no need to first ask him. The fact that he first asked, shows that he was not prescient, and, if he was not prescient, it is plain that he was not a spirit. Being neither prescient nor a spirit, he could not appear with a body, nor talk, nor strike a man with a pole.

Yeh Ku was an honest official who took the guilt upon himself, and offered himself for punishment, so that the ghost struck him. Had he been dishonest and inculpated *Pao*, the ghost would have hit *Pao* with his pole.

Furthermore, provided that the spirit resented the laxity in the performance of his sacrifice, and therefore made his appearance, and killed the superintendent of the sacrifice, then would he, in case all the rites were duly fulfilled, be pleased and appear, and

<sup>1</sup> Duke *Pao* alias *Wén* of *Sung*, 609-588 B.C. His death is chronicled in the *Ch'un-chiu*, Duke *Ch'eng* 2nd year.

as a favour present the sacrificer with some food? Men have joy and anger, and spirits should have these sensations likewise. A man who does not rouse another's anger, preserves his life, whereas he who displeases him, loses it. The malignant ghost in his wrath made his appearance, and inflicted a punishment, but the sacrifices of the Sung State have certainly often been according to the rites, wherefore did the ghost not appear then to reward?

Joy and anger not being like the human, rewards and punishments are not like those dealt out by man either, and owing to this difference we cannot believe that *Yeh Ku* was slain by the spirit.

Moreover, in the first place, for smelling one takes in air, and for speaking one breathes it out. He who can smell, can talk likewise, as he who inhales, can exhale too. Should ghosts and spirits be able to smell, they ought to speak about the sacrifices. Since they are incapable of speech, we know that they cannot smell either.

Secondly, all those who smell, have their mouths and their noses open. Should their noses be stopped up by a cold, or their mouths gagged, olfaction becomes impossible. When a man dies, his mouth and his nose putrefy, how could they still be used for smelling?

Thirdly, the *Liki* has it that, when men have died, they are dreaded. They then belong to another class of beings than man, hence the dread. As corpses they cannot move, they decay, and are annihilated. Since they do not possess the same bodies as living people, we know that they can have no intercourse with the living. As their bodies are dissimilar, and as we know that there can be no intercourse, their eating and drinking cannot be like that of man. The Mongols and the Annamese<sup>1</sup> are different nations, and in the matter of eating their tastes widely differ. Now, the difference between the departed and the living is not merely like that between the Mongols and the Annamese. Hence we infer that the dead cannot smell.

Fourthly, when a man is asleep, we may put some food near him, he does not know, but, as soon as he awakes, he becomes aware of it, and then may eventually eat it. When a man is dead, however, and sleeps the long sleep, from which there is no awakening, how could he know anything or eat then? This shows that he is unable to smell.

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<sup>1</sup> The *Hu* in the north, and the *Füeh* in the south of China.

Somebody might raise the question, what it means that the spirits partake of a sacrifice, as people say. It means that people conscientiously clean the sacrificial vessels, that the rice is fragrant, and the victims fat, so that persons coming near and perceiving all this would feel inclined to eat and drink. With these their feelings they credit the ghosts and spirits, which, if they were conscious, would decidedly enjoy the offerings. Therefore people speak of the spirits, as though they were partaking of the sacrifice.

Another objection is the following:—The *Yiking* says that an ox killed by the eastern neighbour, is not like the humble offering of the western neighbour.<sup>1</sup> This assertion that the eastern neighbour does not come up to the western, signifies that the animal of the eastern neighbour is big, but his luck small, whereas the fortune of the western neighbour is great, though his sacrifice be poor. Now, if the spirits are denied the faculty of enjoying the offering, how can we determine the amount of happiness?

This also depends on the question, whether a sacrifice is carefully prepared, so that everything is clean, or not. *Chou* had an ox immolated, but he did not fulfill all the rites. *Wén Wang*, on the other hand, made only a small offering, but did his utmost to show his devotion. People condemn a lack of ceremonies, and are full of praise for a pious fulfilment of all the rites. He who is praised by the people, finds support in all his enterprises, while the one who is disliked, meets with opposition, whatever he says or does. Such a resistance is no smaller misfortune than the rejection of a sacrifice by the spirits, and the general support is a happiness like that experienced, when the spirits smell the oblation.

Ghosts cannot be pleased or angry at a sacrifice for the following reason. Provided that spirits do not require man for their maintenance, then, in case they did need them, they would no more be spiritual. If we believe in spirits smelling the sacrifices, and in sacrifices causing happiness or misfortune, how do we imagine the dwelling places of the ghosts? Have they their own provisions stored up, or must they take the human food to appease their hunger? Should they possess their own stores, these would assuredly be other than the human, and they would not have to eat human food. If they have no provisions of their own, then man would have to make offerings to them every morning and every evening. According as he had sacrificed to them or not, they would be either satiated or hungry, and according as they

<sup>1</sup> *Yiking*, 63d diagram (*Chi-chi*), Legge's translation p. 206.

had eaten their fill or were hungry, they would be pleased or vexed.

Furthermore, sick people behold ghosts, and, while asleep, people meet with the departed in their dreams. They are shaped like men, therefore the sacrifices presented to them are like human food. Having food and drink, the spirits must be provided with raiment too, therefore one makes silken clothes for them after the fashion of the living. Their sacrifices are like dinners for the living. People desire to feed them, and hope that the ghosts will eat their offerings. As regards the clothes, however, they are not larger than from five or six inches to one foot. Now, supposing that tall and big spirits, which have been observed, are to don garments of a foot in length, would they be very pleased, and bestow happiness on the donors?

Should the ghosts, which have been seen, be really dead men, then the clothes made for them ought to be like those of the living, if, however, those garments are really put on by the ghosts, they must be shaped like dolls. Thus the question about ghosts and spirits remains an open one. How is it possible then to secure their protection and happiness by means of abundant offerings, and how can people firmly believe in this?

## CHAPTER XLII.

Sacrifices (*Chi-yi*).

According to the *Liki* the emperor sacrifices to Heaven and Earth, the feudal princes to the Mountains and Rivers,<sup>1</sup> the ministers, and high dignitaries to the Five Genii,<sup>2</sup> the scholars and the common people to their ancestors.<sup>3</sup> From the offerings to the spirits of the Land and Grain down to those in the ancestral hall there is a gradation from the son of heaven down to the commoners.

The *Shuking* says that a special sacrifice was made to *Shangti*, a pure one to the Six Superior Powers, a sacrifice on high to the Mountains and Rivers, and a sacrifice to the various spirits round about.<sup>4</sup>

[*Shun*, says the *Liki*, offered the imperial sacrifice to *Huang Ti*, the suburban sacrifice to *Ti K'u*, the patriarchal to *Chuan Hsü*,<sup>5</sup> and the ancestral to *Yao*. The *Hsia* dynasty likewise presented the imperial sacrifice to *Huang Ti*, but the suburban to *Kun*,<sup>6</sup> the patriarchal to *Chuan Hsü*, and the ancestral to *Yu*. The *Yin* dynasty transferred the imperial sacrifice to *Ti K'u*, the suburban to *Ming*,<sup>7</sup> the patriarchal to *Hsieh*, and the ancestral to *T'ang*. The *Chou* dynasty made the imperial sacrifice to *Ti K'u*, the suburban to *Chi*,<sup>8</sup> the patriarchal to *Wen Wang*, and the ancestral to *Wu Wang*.<sup>9</sup>

Wood was burned on the big altar as a sacrifice to Heaven, a victim was buried in the big pit as a sacrifice to Earth. A red

<sup>1</sup> The mountains and rivers of their territory.

<sup>2</sup> The five genii of the house to whom the Five Sacrifices were offered. See further on.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Liki*, *Chü-li* (Legge, *Sacred Books Vol. XXVII*, p. 116).

<sup>4</sup> *Shuking*, *Shun-tien Pt. II*, Bk. I, 6 (Legge Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 33).

<sup>5</sup> *Huang Ti*, *Ti K'u* and *Chuan Hsü* are mythical emperors. *Ti K'u* is said to have been the father of *Yao*.

<sup>6</sup> *Kun*, the father of *Yu*.

<sup>7</sup> *Ming* was a descendant of *Hsieh*, who was a son of *Ti K'u*.

<sup>8</sup> *Chi* = *Hou Chi*, the ancestor of the *Chou* dynasty.

<sup>9</sup> The four sacrifices here mentioned were presented by the sovereigns of the ancient dynasties to the founders of their dynasties, their ancestors, and predecessors.

calf was immolated, and a sheep buried in bright daylight as a sacrifice to the Seasons, and they approached the sacrificial pits and altars to offer sacrifice to the Heat and the Cold. In the imperial palace a sacrifice was made to the Sun, and in clear night they sacrificed to the Moon. Oblations were made to the Stars in the dark hall, to Water and Drought in the rain hall, and to the Four Cardinal Points at the four pits and altars.

The mountain forests, the valleys of the rivers, and the hills and cliffs can emit clouds and produce wind and rain. All these curious phenomena are regarded as spirits. The ruler of the world sacrifices to all the spirits, the princes only as long as they are within their territories, but not, when they have left them.]<sup>1</sup>

Such are the official sacrifices according to usage and the prescribed rites. The emperor treats Heaven like his father and Earth like his mother. Conformably to human customs he practises filial piety, which accounts for the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth. In the matter of Mountains and Rivers and the subsequent deities the offerings presented to them are in appreciation of their deserts. A living man distinguishing himself is rewarded, ghosts and spirits which are well-deserving have their sacrifices. When mountains send forth clouds and rain, the welcome moisture for all the organisms, and when the Six Superior Powers keep in their six spheres, and aid Heaven and Earth in their changes, the emperor venerates them by sacrifices, whence their appellation the "Six Honoured Ones."<sup>2</sup>

The spirits of Land and Grain are rewarded for their kindness in letting all the things grow, the spirit *Shé*<sup>3</sup> for all the living and growing things, the spirit *Chi*<sup>4</sup> for the five kinds of grain.

The Five Sacrifices are in recognition of the merits of the Outer and Inner Doors, the Well, the Hearth, and the Inner Hall. Through the outer and inner doors man walks in and out, the well and the hearth afford him drink and food, and in the inner hall he finds a resting-place. These five are equally meritorious, therefore they all partake of a sacrifice.

<sup>1</sup> Quotation from the *Liki*, *Chi-fa* (Law of sacrifices). The commentators whom Legge follows in his translation (*Sacred Books Vol. XXVIII*, p. 201), read much between the lines, which appears rather problematic.

<sup>2</sup> What the "Six Honoured Ones" are, is disputed. Some say:—water, fire, wind, thunder, hills, and lakes; others explain the term as signifying:—the sun, the moon, the stars, rivers, seas, and mountains.

<sup>3</sup> The Spirit of the Land or the Soil.

<sup>4</sup> The Spirit of Grain.

*Chi* of *Chou*<sup>1</sup> was called *Shao Hao*.<sup>2</sup> He had four uncles of the names of *Chung*, *Kai*, *Hsiu*, and *Hsi*<sup>3</sup> who could master metal, fire, and wood, wherefore he made *Chung* the Genius of Spring, *Kou Mang*, *Kai* the Genius of Autumn, *Ju Shou*, and *Hsiu* and *Hsi* Gods of the Winter, *Hsüan Ming*.<sup>4</sup> They never neglected their office, and assisted *Chiung-sang*.<sup>5</sup> To these the Three Offerings are made.

*Chuan Hsü*<sup>6</sup> had a son called *Li*, who became the God of Fire, *Chu Yung*.<sup>7</sup> *Kung Kung's*<sup>8</sup> son was named *Kou Lung*. He was made Lord of the Soil, *Hou Tu*. The Two Sacrifices refer to these two personages.

The Lord of the Soil was the spirit of the land and grain in charge of the fields. The son of *Lieh Shan*,<sup>9</sup> *Chu*, was the spirit of the grain and from the *Hsia* dynasty upwards worshipped as

<sup>1</sup> *Chi*, the first ancestor of the *Chou* dynasty, venerated as the Spirit of Grain under the title *Hou Chi* "Lord of the Grain." On his miraculous birth *vid. I*, p. 354.

<sup>2</sup> By other authors *Chi* is not identified with the legendary emperor *Shao Hao*, whose birth was miraculous also. His mother was caused to conceive by a huge star like a rainbow (*T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan*).

<sup>3</sup> According to the commentary of the *Liki* these were not uncles, but sons of *Shao Hao*.

<sup>4</sup> The names of these deities or deified men correspond to their functions:—  
 勾芒 *Kou Mang* = "Curling fronds and spikelets," 蕃收 *Ju Shou* = "Sprouts gathered," and 立冥 *Hsüan Ming* = "Dark and obscure." According to the *Liki* (*Yüeh-ling*) these three deities were secondary spirits, each presiding over three months of spring, autumn, and winter. Some say that *Hsüan Ming* was a water spirit. As the spirit of summer 祝融 *Chu Yung*, who is related to fire, is venerated. There being a fixed relation between the four seasons, the four cardinal points, and the five elements we have the following equations:—

*Kou Mang*, Genius of Spring, the east, and wood.

*Chu Yung*, Genius of Summer, the south, and fire.

*Ju Shou*, Genius of Autumn, the west, and metal.

*Hsüan Ming*, Genius of Winter, the north, and water.

I suppose that in the clause "who could master metal, *fire* and wood" we ought to read *water* in lieu of *fire*, for the gods there enumerated are those of wood, metal and water. The spirit of fire follows in the next clause.

In the *Liki*, *Hou Tu*, the Lord of the Soil is made to correspond to the middle of the four seasons—in default of a fifth season—to the centre, and to earth. (Cf. *Legge, Sacred Books* Vol. XXVII, p. 281 Note.) Thus we have:—

*Hou Tu*, Genius of Mid-year, the centre, and earth.

These Five Spirits are called the *Wu Shén*. They were worshipped during the *Chou* dynasty and are mentioned in ancient works (*Liki*, *Tso-chuan*, *Huai Nan Tse*).

<sup>5</sup> Another name of *Shao Hao*, who was lord of *Chiung-sang*.

<sup>6</sup> A legendary emperor.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Note 4.

<sup>8</sup> See II, p. 31.

<sup>9</sup> Personal name of the emperor *Shén Nung*, who was lord of *Lieh-shan*.

such. *Ch'i* of *Chou* was likewise spirit of the grain. From the *Shang* dynasty downwards people sacrificed to him.

The *Liki* relates that, while *Lieh Shan*<sup>1</sup> was swaying the empire, his son of the name of *Chu*<sup>2</sup> could plant all the various kinds of grain, and that after the downfall of the *Hsia* dynasty, *Ch'i* of *Chou* succeeded him, and therefore was worshipped as Spirit of the Grain. While *Kung Kung* was usurping the power in the nine provinces, his son, called Lord of the Soil, was able to pacify the nine countries, and therefore was worshipped as Spirit of the Land.<sup>3</sup>

There is a tradition to the effect that *Yen Ti*<sup>4</sup> produced fire and after death became the tutelary god of the Hearth, and that *Yu* having spent his energy on the waters of the empire, became Spirit of the Land after death.

The *Liki* says that [the emperor institutes the Seven Sacrifices as representative of his people, namely for the arbiter of fate,<sup>5</sup> for the inner court, for the gates of the capital, for its high-ways, for the august demons,<sup>6</sup> for the doors, and for the hearths. The princes on their part institute the Five Sacrifices for their States, namely for the arbiter of fate, for the inner court, for the gates of their capital, for its high-ways, and for the illustrious demons. The high dignitaries present the Three Sacrifices for the demons of their ancestors, for their doors, and for their roads. The ordinary scholars make Two Offerings, one for the door and one for their roads, and the commoners only one, either for their inner doors or for the hearth.]<sup>7</sup>

There are no fixed rules for the oblations to be made to the spirits of the Land and Grain or for the Five Sacrifices, but they are all expressions of gratitude for benefits received from the spirits, whose goodness is not forgotten.

If we love somebody in our heart, we give him to eat and to drink, and, if we love ghosts and spirits, we sacrifice to them. With *Yu* the worship of the spirits of the land and grain, and the sacrifices to the lord of the grain commence. Subsequently they fell into desuetude, until in the 4th year of the emperor *Kao Tsu*<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The *Liki* in the current edition writes:—*Li Shan*.

<sup>2</sup> The *Liki* has:—*Nung*.

<sup>3</sup> *Liki*, *Chi-fa* (end).

<sup>4</sup> Dynastic appellation of *Shén Nung*.

<sup>5</sup> The fourth star in *Ursa major*.

<sup>6</sup> The discontented and mischievous spirits of former sovereigns without children, who must be propitiated.

<sup>7</sup> Quotation from the *Liki*, *Chi-fa* (Legge, loc. cit. p. 206).

<sup>8</sup> In 203 B.C.

the world was called upon to sacrifice to the *Ling* constellation,<sup>1</sup> and in the 7th year people were enjoined to sacrifice to the spirits of the land and grain.<sup>2</sup>

The offerings to the *Ling* constellation are for the sake of water and drought. In the *Liki* their ancient name is rain sacrifices. They are being performed for the people praying for grain rain and for grain ears. In spring they sue for the harvest, and within one year's time they sacrifice again, because grain grows twice a year. In spring this is done in the second moon, and in autumn in the eighth. Therefore we read in the *Analects*:<sup>3</sup> "About the end of spring, when the spring robes are all complete, along with five or six young men who have assumed the cap, and six or seven boys, I would wash in the *Yi*,<sup>4</sup> enjoy the breeze among the rain altars, and return home singing."

The end of spring is the fourth month, but the fourth month of the *Chou* dynasty corresponds to our first and second months. During the time of the second month, the *Dragon Star* rises, whence it has been observed that, when the dragon appears, the rain sacrifice takes place. When the *Dragon Star* becomes visible, the year has already advanced as far as the time, when the insects begin to stir.

The vernal rain sacrifice has fallen into oblivion, while the autumnal one is still observed. Yet during all the ages the sacrifices to the *Ling Star* have always been prepared until now without interruption, only the ancient name has been changed, therefore the people of our time do not know it, and, since the ceremony has been abolished, the scholars are not cognisant of the fact. Finding nothing about the sacrifice to the *Ling Star* in the Rites, our literati could not form an opinion about it, and declare that the emperor<sup>5</sup> had the *Ming Star* in view. Now the *Ming Star* is identified with the planet *Jupiter*.<sup>6</sup>

*Jupiter* stands in the east, the east rules over the spring, and the spring over all things that grow. Consequently one sacrifices to the planet *Jupiter*, they say, with the purpose of praying for

<sup>1</sup> The constellation *T'ien-t'ien* "Heavenly field" in *Virgo*.

<sup>2</sup> According to the *Shi-chi* chap. 28 (*Chavannes* Vol. III, p. 453) *Han Kao Tsu* instituted these sacrifices in the 9th and 10th years of his reign.

<sup>3</sup> *Analects* XI, 25, VII.

<sup>4</sup> River in the south-east of *Shantung*.

<sup>5</sup> *Kao Tsu*.

<sup>6</sup> 明星 the "Bright star" is generally regarded as another name of *Venus*. Cf. *Shi-chi* chap. 27, p. 22.

ernal bliss. However all the four seasons affect the growth of things. By imploring the spring only, one lays great stress on the outset and emphasizes the beginning. Provided that in fact, according to the opinion of the scholars, the happiness of spring be sought, then by the autumnal sacrifice spring could not well be implored.<sup>1</sup> In conformity with the *Yüeh-ling*<sup>2</sup> one sacrifices to the inner door in spring, and to the outer door in autumn,<sup>3</sup> all in accordance with the proper time. If the offerings made to the outer door in autumn were considered to be those to the inner door, would this be approved of by the critics? If not, then the *Ming* Star is not the planet *Jupiter*, but the "Dragon Star."<sup>4</sup>

When the *Dragon* Star becomes visible in the second month, one prays for grain rain at the rain sacrifice, and, when in the eighth month it is going to disappear, one sues for the grain crop at the autumnal rain sacrifice. The literati were probably aware of this, and what they say is not quite unreasonable. The vernal sacrifice for rain has been abolished, and only the autumnal one has survived. This explains why they termed the star corresponding to the autumnal sacrifice the *Ming* Star.<sup>5</sup> The correct name however is the *Ling* Star.

The *Ling* Star means a spirit, and this spirit is the *Dragon* Star, as under the various spirits the wind god *Feng Po*, the rain god *Yu Shih*, the god of thunder, *Lei Kung*, and others are understood. Wind produces a wafting, rain a moisture, and thunder a concussion. The four seasons, the growing, heat and cold, the natural changes, the sun, the moon, and the stars are what people look up to, inundations and droughts are what they dread. From the four quarters the air pours in, and from the mountains, the forests, the rivers, and valleys people gather their riches. All this is the merit of the spirits.

Two motives are underlying all sacrifices: gratitude for received benefits and ancestor worship. We show our gratitude for the efforts others have take on our behalf, and worship our an-

<sup>1</sup> Thus Jupiter, which rules over spring only, could not well be sacrificed to at the rain sacrifice in autumn.

<sup>2</sup> A chapter of the *Liki*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Legge's translation of the *Liki* (*Sacred Books Vol. XXVII*, p. 251 and 283).

<sup>4</sup> The Dragon Star occurs in the *Tso-chuan*, Duke *Hsiang* 28th year, as the star of *Sung* and *Cheng*. The commentary explains it as a synonym of *Jupiter*.

<sup>5</sup> The *Ming* Star = *Venus* governs the west and autumn, whereas *Jupiter* reigns in the east and in spring.

cestors out of regard for their kindness. Special efforts, extraordinary goodness, merits, and universal reforms are taken into consideration by wise emperors, and it is for this reason that they have instituted sacrifices. An oblation is offered to him who has improved the public administration, who for the public welfare has worked till his death, who has done his best to strengthen his country, who has warded off great disasters, or prevented great misfortunes.

[*Ti K'u* could fix the courses of the stars and enlighten the world.<sup>1</sup> *Yao* knew how to reward, and equitably mete out punishments, so that justice reigned supreme. *Shun* toiled for his people, and died in the country, *K'un* laboured to quell the flood, and was banished for life. *Yu* could take up his work. *Huang Ti* gave things their right names to enlighten people about the use to be made of them. *Chuan Hsü* still further developed this system. When *Hsieh* was minister of education, the people flourished. *Ming* fulfilled his official duties with the greatest diligence, and found his death in the water. *T'ang* inaugurated a liberal government, and delivered the people from oppression. *Wen Wang* relieved the misery of the people by culture and science, *Wu Wang* by his military exploits. By all these glorious deeds the people were benefitted.<sup>2</sup>] They rely on the strength of men like those, and show their gratitude by sacrifices.

The ancestors in the ancestral temple are our own kindred. Because, while they are alive, it is customary to maintain our parents, this duty cannot be shirked, when they are dead. Therefore we sacrifice to them, as though they were still alive. Ghosts are treated like men, for it is the living who attend the dead. For man it is usual to reward good deeds, and to maintain the nearest relatives, whence the duty to requite the kindness of the ancestors and to sacrifice to them has been derived.

When the dog which *Confucius* had bred was dead, he requested *Tse Kung* to bury him. "I have been told, quoth he, that one does not throw an old curtain away, but uses it to bury a horse, and that an old cart-cover is not thrown away, but used to bury a dog. I am poor, and have no cover to wrap him in." Then he gave him a mat, and bade him not to throw the dog down with his head first.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> About the prognostics furnished by the stars.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted from the *Liki*, *Chi-fa* (Legge, loc. cit. p. 208).

<sup>3</sup> Quotation from the *Liki*, *T'an-kung* (Legge, loc. cit. p. 196).

*Chi Tse*<sup>1</sup> of *Yen-ling*<sup>2</sup> passed through *Hsü*. The prince of *Hsü*<sup>3</sup> was very fond of his sword, but, because *Chi Tse* had to go as envoy to a powerful State<sup>4</sup> he, at that time did not yet consent to give it him. When *Chi Tse* came back from his mission, the prince of *Hsü* had died in the meantime. *Chi Tse* unbuckled his sword and hung it up on a tree over the grave. His charioteer asked for whom he did so, since the prince of *Hsü* was already dead. "Previously, replied *Chi Tse*, I have made this promise in my heart already. Shall I become unfaithful, because the prince of *Hsü* has died?"—Whereupon he hung up his sword and went away.<sup>5</sup>

Those who make offerings in recognition of special merits, are animated by the same sentiment as *Confucius*, when he interred his pet dog, and those who sacrifice, lest they should evade a former obligation, have the same tenderness of heart as *Chi Tse*, who hung up his sword on a tree over a tomb.

A sage knows these facts, and yet while sacrificing he will fast, and show such respect and devotion, as if there were really ghosts and spirits, and reform without cease, as if happiness and unhappiness depended thereon. But though people thus appreciate goodness, and honour merit, and take such pains to manifest their gratitude, it is not necessary that there should be really ghosts to enjoy these manifestations. We see this from the sacrifice offered to Earth at the meals. When people are going to eat and drink, they respectfully retire, as if they were giving precedence to somebody. *Confucius* says:—"Although the food might be coarse rice and vegetable soup, one must offer a little of it in sacrifice with a grave, respectful air."<sup>6</sup>

The *Liki* tells us that, when subjects are invited to dine with their prince, he first calls upon them to sacrifice, before they receive their rations.

These oblations are like the various sacrifices of the *Liki*. At a meal one also may omit the offering, and though venerating the spirits one may forego a sacrifice. The same principle holds good for all the sacrifices, which invariably consist in giving

<sup>1</sup> *Chi Cha*, fourth son of King *Shou Meng* of Wu, who died in 561 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> A territory in Kiangsu, the appanage of Prince *Chi Tse*.

<sup>3</sup> A State in Anhui.

<sup>4</sup> He was on an embassy to Lu, Chi, Cheng, Wei and Chin, and passed through *Hsü* in 544 B.C.

<sup>5</sup> See a parallel passage in the *Shi-chi* chap. 31, p. 9v.

<sup>6</sup> *Analects* X, 8, X.

something as an offering. He who knows that at the sacrifice to Earth no spirit is present, and still maintains that ghosts attend the various sacrifices, ignores how to reason by analogy.

In the text of the Classics and the writings of the worthies nothing is said yet about ghosts and spirits,<sup>2</sup> nor did they compose special works on this subject. The unauthorized sacrifices offered by the people are not enjoyed by any ghosts, but people believe in the presence of spirits, who can cause either happiness or misfortune.

The votaries of Taoism studying the art of immortality abstain from eating cereals and take other food than other people with a view to purifying themselves. Ghosts and spirits, however, are still more ethereal than immortals, why then should they use the same food as man?

One assumes that after death man loses his consciousness, and that his soul cannot become a spirit. But let us suppose that he did, then he would use different food, and using different food, he would not like to eat human food. Not eating human food, he would not ask us for it, and having nothing to ask at the hands of man, he could not give luck or mishap.

Our joy and anger depend on the fulfilment of our wishes. When they are satisfied, we are pleased, when not, irritated. In our joy we are generous and cause happiness, when we are sulky, we give vent to our anger and make others unhappy. Ghosts and spirits are insensible of joy and anger. People may go on sacrificing to them for ever, or completely disregard and forget them, it makes no difference, how could they render man happy or unhappy?

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<sup>1</sup> This is not quite true. The *Liki*, the *Tso-chuan*, and the *Shi-chi* treat of ghosts and spirits in many places, as we have seen.

## CHAPTER XLIII.

Criticisms on Noxious Influences (*Pien-sui*).

It is a common belief that evil influences cause our diseases and our deaths, and that in case of continual calamities, penalties, ignominious execution, and derision there has been some offence.<sup>1</sup> When in commencing a building, in moving our residence, in sacrificing, mourning, burying, and other rites, in taking up office or marrying, no lucky day has been chosen, or an unpropitious year or month have not been avoided, one falls in with demons and meets spirits, which at that ominous time work disaster. Thus sickness, misfortunes, the implication in criminal cases, punishments, and even deaths, the destruction of a family, and the annihilation of a whole house are brought about by carelessness and disregard of an unfortunate period of time. But in reality this idea is unreasonable.

In this world men cannot but be active, and, after they have been so, they become either lucky or unlucky. Seeing them lucky, people point at this happiness and regard it as the happy result of their previously having chosen a lucky day, and seeing them unlucky, they look at their misfortune as the fatal consequence of their former inattention to an ill-timed hour. However, there are many persons who become unhappy, although they have chosen their day, and others who obtain happiness in spite of their neglect. The horoscopists and seers, desirous of propagating their mystical theory, are silent upon such misfortunes, when they observe them, and hush up those cases of happiness. Contrariwise they adduce abundance of misfortunes with a view to frighten people, lest they should be careless in electing a day, and give many instances of happiness to induce them to be cautious in observing the proper time. Consequently all classes of people, no matter whether they be intelligent or feeble-minded, virtuous or depraved, princes or common citizens, believe in this from fear, and dare not make any opposition. They imagine that this theory is of high antiquity.

<sup>1</sup> Not a moral offence, but a disregard of noxious influences.

and make the nicest distinctions, regarding it as a revelation of Heaven and Earth and a doctrine of wise and holy men. The princes are anxious for their throne, and the people love their own persons, wherefore they always cling to this belief, and do not utter any doubts. Thus, when a prince is about to engage in some enterprise, the horoscopists throng his halls, and, when the people have some business, they first ask for the proper time to avoid collision and injury. A vast literature of sophistic works and deceitful writings has appeared in consequence. The writers are very clever in passing their inventions off as knowledge for their own profit, winning the stupid by fear, enticing the rich, and robbing the poor.

This is by no means the method of the ancients or conformable to the intentions of the sages. When the sages undertook something, they first based it on justice, and, after the moral side of the question had been settled, they determined it by divination to prove that it was not of their own invention, and showed that ghosts and spirits were of the same opinion, and concurred with their view. They wished to prevail upon all the subjects to trust in the usefulness of divination and not to doubt. Therefore the *Shuking* speaks of the seven kinds of divination by shells<sup>1</sup> and the *Yiking* of the eight diagrams. Yet those who make use of them, are not necessarily happy, or those who neglect them, unhappy.

Happy and unhappy events are determined by time, the moments of birth and death, by destiny. Human destiny depends on Heaven, luck and misfortune lie hidden in the lap of time. If their allotted span be short, people's conduct may be ever so virtuous, Heaven cannot lengthen their span, and, if this span be long, Heaven cannot snatch it away from them, though their doings be evil.

Heaven is the master of the hundred spirits. Religion, virtue, kindness, and justice are the principles of Heaven, trembling and fear, heavenly emotions.<sup>2</sup> The destruction of religion and the subversion of virtue are attacks upon the principles of Heaven; menaces and angry looks are antagonistic to the mind of Heaven.

<sup>1</sup> *Shuking*, *Hung-fan* Pt. V, Bk. IV, 23 (*Legge* Vol. III, Pt. II, p. 335). By another punctuation the commentators bring out another meaning viz. that there are seven modes of divination in all, five given by the tortoise and two by milfoil.

<sup>2</sup> We must not suppose that Heaven can fear and tremble, for, as *Wang Ch'ung* tells us over and over again, Heaven is unconscious and inactive. It possesses those qualities ascribed to it only virtually. They become actual and are put into practice by man, who fulfils the commands of Heaven with trembling awe. Its moral feelings are heavenly principles and heavenly emotions. Cf. I, p. 309.

Among the irreligious and wicked none were worse than *Chieh* and *Chou*, and among the lawless and unprincipled of the world none were worse than *Yu* and *Li*.<sup>1</sup> Yet *Chieh* and *Chou* did not die early, and *Yu* and *Li* were not cut off in their prime. Ergo it is evident that happiness and joy do not depend on the choice of a lucky day and the avoidance of an unpropitious time, and that sufferings and hardships are not the result of a collision with a bad year or an infelicitous month.

*Confucius* has said, "Life and death are determined by fate, wealth and honour depend on Heaven."<sup>2</sup> In case, however, that certain times and days are to be observed, and that there are really noxious influences, wherefore did the sage hesitate to say so, or why was he afraid to mention it? According to the ancient writings scholars have been enjoying peace or been in jeopardy, thousands of princes and ten thousands of officials have either obtained or lost luck or mishap, their offices have been high or low, their emoluments have increased or diminished, and in all this there have been many degrees and differences. Taking care of their property, some people have become rich, others poor, they have made profits, or suffered losses, their lives have been long or short, in brief, some have got on, while others remained behind. The exalted and noble have not selected lucky days in all their doings, nor have the mean and ignoble chosen an unlucky time.

From this we learn that happiness and unhappiness as well as life and death do not depend on the lucky auguries which people encounter, or on the time of ill omen or dread, whith which they fall in. While alive, men are nurtured by their vital fluid, and, when they expire, their life is cut off. During their lives people do not meet with a special luck or joy, nor can it be said that at their deaths they fall in with an ominous time of dread. Taking *Confucius* as a witness and basing our arguments on life and death, we come to the conclusion that the manifold misfortunes and calamities are not brought about by human actions.

*Confucius* is a sage and a store of knowledge. Life and death are the greatest events. These great events prove the justness of our theory. *Confucius* has declared that life and death are determined by destiny, and that wealth and honour depend on Heaven. All the writings and covert attacks cannot invalidate this dictum, and common and weak-minded people cannot controvert it. Our

<sup>1</sup> Two emperors of the *Chou* dynasty of bad repute. *Yu Wang* reigned from 781 to 771 B.C., *Li Wang* from 878 to 828 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. I, p. 316.

happiness and unhappiness in this world are fixed by fate, but we can attract them ourselves by our actions.<sup>1</sup> If people lead a tranquil and inactive life, happiness and misfortune arrive of their own accord. That is fate. If they do business and work, and luck or mishap fall to their lot, they have themselves been instrumental.

Very few of the human diseases have not been caused by wind, moisture, eating or drinking. Having exposed themselves to a draught, or slept in a damp place, people spend their cash to learn, which evil influence has been at play. When they have overeaten themselves, they rid their vital essence from this calamity by abstinence, but, in case the malady cannot be cured, they believe that the noxious influence has not been detected, and, if their life comes to a close of itself, they maintain that the divining straws have not been well explained. This is the wisdom of common people.

Among the three hundred and sixty naked animals<sup>2</sup> man ranks first; he is a creature, among the ten thousand creatures the most intelligent. He obtains his life from Heaven and his fluid from the primordial vapours in exactly the same manner as other creatures. Birds have their nests and eyries, beasts their dens and burrows, reptiles, fish, and scaly creatures their holes, just as man has cottages and houses, high-storied buildings and towers.

Those moving creatures die and suffer injuries, fall ill and become worn out, and the big and the small ones prey upon one another, or man hunts and seizes them as a welcome game for his mouth and belly. They do not miss the proper time in building their nests and burrowing their hollows, or fall in with unlucky days in rambling east and west. Man has birth and death, and so other creatures have a beginning and an end. He is active, and so other creatures have their work likewise. Their arteries, heads, feet, ears, eyes, noses, and mouths are not different from the human, only their likes and dislikes are not the same as the human, hence man does not know their sounds, nor understand their meaning. They associate with their kindred and consort with their flock, and know, when they can come near, and when they must keep away just like man. They have the same heaven, the same earth, and they look equally up at the sun and the moon. There-

<sup>1</sup> Even in that case there is fate, which includes human activity.

<sup>2</sup> Snakes, reptiles, and worms which like man have no scales, fur, or feathers.

fore one does not see the reason, why the misfortune caused by demons and spirits should fall upon man alone, and not on the other creatures. In man the mind of Heaven and Earth reach their highest development. Why do the heavenly disasters strike the noblest creature and not the mean ones? How is it that their natures are so similar, and their fates so different?

Punishments are not inflicted upon high officials, and wise emperors are lenient towards the nobility. Wise emperors punish the plebeians, but not the patricians, and the spirits visit the noblest creature with calamities and spare the mean ones? This would not tally with a passage in the *Yiking* to the effect that a great man shares the luck and mishap of demons and spirits.<sup>1</sup>

When I have committed some offence and fallen into the clutches of the law, or become liable to a capital punishment, they do not say that it has been my own fault, but that in my house some duty has been neglected. When I have not taken the necessary precautions for my personal accommodation, or when I have been immoderate in eating or drinking, they do not say that I have been careless, but discover some impardonable disregard of an unlucky time. In case several persons die shortly one after the other, so that there are up to ten coffins awaiting burial, they do not speak of a contagion through contaminated air, but urge that the day chosen for one interment has been unlucky. If some activity has been displayed, they will talk about the non-observance of lucky or unlucky days, and, if nothing has been done, they have recourse to one's habitation. Our house or lodging being in a state of decay or delapidation, flying goblins and floating spectres assemble in our residence, they say. They also pray to their ancestors for help against misfortunes and delivery from evil. In case of sickness, they do not ask a doctor and, when they are in difficulties, they do not reform their conduct. They ascribe everything to misfortune and call it offences or mistakes. Such is the type of the ordinary run; their knowledge is shallow, and they never get at the bottom of a thing.

When delinquents are employed by the Minister of Works for hard labour, it does not follow that the day, when they appeared before the judge, was inauspicious, or that the time, when they were condemned to penal servitude, was one of ill omen. If a murderer selects an auspicious day to go out and meet the judge, who inflicts his punishment, and if he chooses a good time for

<sup>1</sup> *Yiking*, 1st diagram (*Chien*).

entering the prison, will the judgment then be reversed, and his pardon arrive?

A man is not punished, unless he has met with mishap, nor thrown into jail, if not punished. Should one day a decree arrive, in consequence of which he could walk out released from his fetters, it would not follow that he had got rid of evil influences.

There are thousands of jails in the world, and in these jails are ten thousands of prisoners, but they cannot all have neglected the precarious time of dread. Those who hold office and have their revenues, perhaps from special towns and districts, which have been given them in perpetual fief, number thousands and tens of thousands, but the days, when they change their residences, are not always lucky.

The city of *Li-yang*<sup>1</sup> was flooded during one night and became a lake. Its inhabitants cannot all have been guilty of a disregard of the year and the months. When *Kao Tsu* rose, *Fêng* and *P'ei*<sup>2</sup> were recovered, yet their inhabitants cannot be said to have been particularly cautious with reference to times and days. When *Hsiang Yü* stormed *Hsiang-an*, no living soul was left in it.<sup>3</sup> This does not prove, however, that its people have not prayed or worshipped. The army of *Chao* was buried alive by *Ch'in* below *Ch'ang-ping*. 400,000 men died at the same time together.<sup>4</sup> When they left home, they had surely not omitted to choose a propitious time.

On a *shén* day one must not cry, for crying entails deep sorrow. When some one dies on a *wu* or a *chi* day, other deaths will follow, yet in case an entire family dies out, the first death did not of necessity take place on a *shén*, *wu*, or *chi*<sup>5</sup> day. On a day, when blood-shed is forbidden, one must not kill animals, yet the abattoirs are not scenes of more misfortunes than other places. On the first day of the moon, people should not crowd together, yet shops are not especially visited with disasters. When skeletons become visible on the surface of the soil, they have not necessarily come out on a *Wang-wang* day, and a dead man, whose coffin is standing in a house, must not just have returned on a *Kuei-chi* day.<sup>6</sup> Consequently

<sup>1</sup> Vid. I, p. 316.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. I, p. 365.

<sup>3</sup> The *Shi-chi* chap. 8, p. 11v., where this passage occurs (*Chavannes, Mém. Hist.* Vol. II, p. 343), speaks of the city of *Hsiang-chéng* in Honan, whereas *Hsiang-an* is situated in Anhui.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. I, p. 316.

<sup>5</sup> Three cyclical numbers.

<sup>6</sup> On a *Wang-wang* day one must not go out, and on a *Kuei-chi* day returning home is disastrous.

those who interpret evil influences cannot be trusted, for if they are, they do not find the truth.

Now, let us suppose that ten persons living and eating together in the same house do not move a hoe or a hammer, nor change their residence, that in sacrificing and marrying they select lucky days, and that from Spring to Winter they never come into collision with any inauspicious time. Would these ten persons not die, when they have attained a hundred years?

The geomancers will certainly reply that their house would either be in good repair or commence to decay, and that, on the *Sui-p'o* or *Chih-fu* days they would not think of leaving it. In that case they might every now and then ask the soothsayers about the state of their house and remain in it, as long as it is in good repair, but leave it, when it begins to delapidate, and, on the *Sui-p'o* and *Chih-fu*<sup>1</sup> days, the whole family might move. But would they not die then at the age of a hundred years?

The geomancers would again object that while changing their residence they would hit upon an unlucky time, or that their moving to and fro might be unpropitious. Then we would advise them to consult the seers and not to move, unless they can safely go, nor revert, unless their coming is without danger. But would they remain alive then after having reached a hundred years?

The geomancers would not fail to reply that life stops and that age has a limit. Ergo human life and death solely depend on destiny: they are not affected by unlucky years and months, or influenced by a disregard of fatal days of dread.

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<sup>1</sup> *Wang-wang*, *Kuei-chi*, *Sui-p'o*, and *Chih-fu* 往亡, 歸忌, 歲破直符 are technical terms used by geomancers and in calendars to designate certain classes of unlucky days.

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## CHAPTER XLIV.

On Exorcism (*Chieh-chu*).

The world believes in sacrifices, trusting that they procure happiness, and it approves of exorcism, fancying that it will remove evil influences. Exorcism begins with the ceremony of presenting an offering. An offering is like a banquet given by the living to their guests. First the ghosts are treated like guests and given a meal, but, when they have eaten it, they are expelled with swords and sticks. Provided that ghosts and spirits possess consciousness, they would undubitably resent such a treatment, offering resistance and fighting, and would refuse to leave forthwith. In their anger, they would just cause misfortune. If they are not conscious, then they cannot do mischief. In that case exorcising would be no use, and its omission would do no harm.

Moreover, what shape do people ascribe to ghosts and spirits? If they believe them to have a shape, this shape must be like that of living men. Living men in a passion would certainly make an attempt upon the lives of their adversaries. If they have no shape, they would be like mist and clouds. The expulsion of clouds and mist, however, would prove ineffectual.

As we cannot know their shapes, we can neither guess their feelings. For what purpose would ghosts and spirits gather in human dwellings? In case they earnestly wish to kill people, they would avoid their aggressors, when they drive them out, and abscond, but, as soon as the expulsion ceases, they would return, and re-occupy their former places. Should they have no murderous intentions, and only like to dwell in human houses, they would cause no injury, even if they were not expelled.

When grandees go out, thousands of people assemble to have a look at them, thronging the streets and filling the alleys, and striving for the places in front. It is not before the soldiers repel them, that they go away, but no sooner have the soldiers turned their back, than they return to their places. Unless the soldiers kept watch the whole day without leaving their post, they could not restrain them, because they are bent on having a look and

would not go home on account of having been driven back once. Provided that ghosts and spirits resemble living men, they would feel attracted to their homes in the same way as those thousands are determined on sight seeing. If the soldiers repelling them do not keep watch for a long while, the lookers-on do not disperse, and unless expelled during a whole year, the ghosts would not leave. Now, being expelled, after they have finished their meal, they would retire, but having retired, come back again, for what could prevent them?

When grain is being dried in a court-yard, and fowls and sparrows pick it up, they escape, when the master drives them off, but return, when he relaxes his vigilance. He is unable to keep the fowls and sparrows at bay, unless he watches the whole day. If the ghosts be spirits, an expulsion would not induce them to retreat, and if they be not spirits, they would be like fowls and sparrows, and nothing but a constant repulse could frighten them away.

When tigers and wolves enter into a territory, they are pursued with bows and cross-bows, but even their deaths do not do away with the cause of those terrible visits. When brigands and insurgents assault a city, the imperial troops may beat them, but notwithstanding this rebuff, the cause of their frightful incursions is not removed thereby. The arrival of tigers and wolves corresponds to a disorganised government, that of rebels and bandits, to a general disorder. Thus the gathering of ghosts and spirits is indicative of the sudden end of life. By destroying tigers and wolves and by defeating insurgents and bandits one cannot bring about a reform of the government or re-establish order, neither is it possible to remove misfortune or prolong life by ever so much exorcising or expelling ghosts and spirits.

Sick people see ghosts appear, when their disease has reached its climax. Those who are of a strong and violent character will grasp the sword or the cudgel and fight with the ghosts. They will have one or two rounds, until at last, having missed a thrust, they are forced to surrender, for, unless they surrender, the duel will not come to a close. The ghosts expelled by exorcism are not different from those perceived by sick people, nor is there any difference between expelling and fighting. As the ghosts will not withdraw though assailed by sick people, the conjurations of the master of the house will not prevail upon the ghosts and spirits to leave. Consequently of what use would be such conjurations for the house? Therefore we cannot accept the belief that evil influences might thus be neutralised.

Furthermore, the ghosts which are expelled from the house live there as guests. The hosts are the Twelve Spirits of the house, such as the Blue Dragon and the White Tiger, and the other spirits occupying the Twelve Cardinal Points.<sup>1</sup> The Dragon and the Tiger are fierce spirits and the chief ghosts of heaven.<sup>2</sup> Flying corpses and floating goblins would not venture to gather against their will, as, when a host is fierce and bold, mischievous guests would not dare to intrude upon him. Now the Twelve Spirits have admitted the others into the house, and the master drives them away. That would be nothing less than throwing out the guests of the Twelve Spirits. Could such a hatred against the Twelve Spirits secure happiness? If there are no Twelve Spirits, there are no flying corpses or goblins either, and without spirits and goblins exorcism would be of no avail, and the expulsion have no sense.

Exorcism is an imitation of the old ceremony of the expulsion of sickness. In ancient times *Chuan Hsü* had three sons, who vanished, when they had grown up. One took up his abode in the water of the *Yangtse* and became the *Ghost of Fever*, one lived in the *Jo* River and became a *Water Spirit*, and one in damp and wet corners as the arbiter of sickness.<sup>3</sup> At the end of the year, when all business had been finished, sick people used to drive out the Spirit of Sickness, and believed that by seeing off the old year and going to meet the new one they would obtain luck. The world followed this example, whence originated exorcism. But even the ceremony of driving out sickness is out of place.

When *Yao* and *Shun* practised their virtue, the empire enjoyed perfect peace, the manifold calamities vanished, and, though the diseases were not driven out, the Spirit of Sickness did not make its appearance. When *Chieh* and *Chou* did their deeds, everything within the seas was thrown into confusion, all the misfortunes happened simultaneously, and although the diseases were expelled day by day, the Spirit of Sickness still came back. Declining ages have faith in ghosts, and the unintelligent will pray for happiness. When the *Chou* were going to ruin, the people believed in ghosts, and prepared sacrifices with the object of imploring happiness and the divine help. Narrow-minded rulers fell an easy prey to im-

<sup>1</sup> In addition to the Blue Dragon and White Tiger *Wang Ch'ung* mentions the 太歲 *T'ai-sui*, 登明 *Ting-ming* and 從魁 *Tsung-k'uei* as such spirits. Cf. *Lun-héng*, chap. 24, 13 (*Nan-sui*).

<sup>2</sup> The Blue Dragon and the White Tiger are also names of the eastern and western quadrant of the solar mansions. Comp. I, p. 286 and II, p. 133.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. II, p. 23.

posture, and took no heed of their own actions, but they accomplished nothing creditable, and their administration remained unsettled.

All depends upon man, and not on ghosts, on their virtue, and not on sacrifices. The end of a State is far or near, and human life is long or short. If by offerings, happiness could be obtained, or if misfortune could be removed by exorcism, kings might use up all the treasures of the world for the celebration of sacrifices to procrastinate the end of their reign, and old men and women of rich families might pray for the happiness to be gained by conjurations with the purpose of obtaining an age surpassing the usual span.

Long and short life, wealth and honour of all the mortals are determined by fortune and destiny, and as for their actions, whether they prove successful or otherwise, there are times of prosperity and decline. Sacrifices do not procure happiness, for happiness does not depend on oblations. But the world believes in ghosts and spirits, and therefore is partial to sacrifices. Since there are no ghosts and spirits to receive these sacrifices, the knowing do not concern themselves about them.

Sacrifices are meant as a kindness done to the ghosts and spirits, and yet they do not bring about luck and happiness. Now fancy that these spirits are expelled by brute force. Could that bring any profit?

The sacrificial rites and the methods of exorcism are very numerous. We will prove their uselessness by one example, for from a small sacrifice one may draw a conclusion to the great ones, and from one ghost learn to know the hundred spirits.

When people have finished the building of a house or a cottage, excavated the ground, or dug up the earth, they propitiate the Spirit of Earth, after the whole work has been completed, and call this appeasing the earth. They make an earthen figure to resemble a ghost. The wizards chant their prayers to reconcile the Spirit of Earth, and, when the sacrifice is over, they become gay and cheerful, and pretend that the ghosts and spirits have been propitiated, and misfortunes and disasters removed. But if we get to the bottom of it, we find that all this is illusive.

Why? Because the material earth is like the human body. Everything under heaven forms one body, whose head and feet are tens of thousands of Li apart. Mankind lives upon earth as fleas and lice stick to the human body. Fleas and lice feed upon man, and torment his skin, as men dig up the earth, and torment

its body. Should some among the fleas and lice, being aware of this, wish to appease man's heart, and for that purpose assemble to propitiate him near the flesh, which they have eaten, would man know about it? Man cannot comprehend what fleas and lice say, as Earth does not understand the speech of man.

The *Hu* and the *Yüeh* have the same ears and mouths, and are animated by similar feelings, but even if they speak mouth to mouth, and ear to ear, they cannot understand each other. And there should be a communication between the ears and the mouth of Earth and man, who does not resemble her?

Moreover, who is it that hears what man says? Should it be Earth, her ears are too far away to hear, and if it be the earth of one special house, this earth is like an atom of human flesh, how could it understand anything? If the spirit of the house be the hearer, one ought to speak of appeasing the house, but not of appeasing Earth.

The Rites prescribe that entering into the ancestral hall one must not find a master there.<sup>1</sup> One has made the device of cutting a wooden tablet, one foot and two inches long, and calling it the master, and serves it in the spirit, but does not make a human likeness. Now at the propitiatory sacrifices to Earth, they make an earthen human figure resembling the shape of a ghost. How could that have a propitiatory effect? Spirits are diffuse, vague, and incorporeal; entering and departing they need no aperture, whence their name of spirits. Now to make a bodily image is not only in opposition to the Rites, but also reveals a misapprehension of the nature of spirits. We know that they have no likeness, therefore, when the mats are spread for sacrifice, no figures of ghosts are put up.

If at the propitiatory service for Earth they set up human figures, could a stone effigy be used at the sacrifice to the Mountains, or could a wooden man be made for the sacrifice to the Gates and Doors?<sup>2</sup>

When *Ch'ung Hang Yin* of *Chin*<sup>3</sup> was near his end, he summoned his high-priest, wishing to punish him. "The victims," said he, "which you have immolated for me, have not been fat and glossy. You have not observed the rules of fasting with reverence, and thus have caused the ruin of my State. Is it not so?"

<sup>1</sup> The image of the departed, who as master dwells in the ancestral hall.

<sup>2</sup> No figures are used at the sacrifices to those deities.

<sup>3</sup> A nobleman, related to the dual house of *Chin*, of the 5th cent. B.C. The *Ch'ung Hang* family possessed large domains in *Chin*.

The priest replied in plain terms, "Formerly, my old lord, *Ch'ung Hang Mi Tse*, possessed ten chariots, and did not feel grieved at their small number, but at the insufficiency of his righteousness. Your Lordship has a hundred war-chariots, and does not feel distressed that your justice is so imperfect, but merely regrets that your chariots do not suffice. When vessels and chariots are well equipped, the taxes must be high, and the taxes being heavy, the people defame and curse their sovereign. If he then offers sacrifices, of what use can it be to his State? These curses must also ruin the State.—One man prays for him, and the whole State curses him. One prayer cannot overcome ten thousand curses. Is it not quite natural that a State should perish thus? What is the guilt of the priest?"—*Ch'ung Hang Yin* then felt ashamed.

The people of to-day rely on sacrifices like *Ch'ung Hang Yin*. They do not improve their conduct, but multiply the prayers, do not honour their superiors, but fear the ghosts. When they die, or misfortune befalls them, they ascribe it to noxious influences, maintaining that they have not yet been regulated. When they have been regulated and offerings prepared, and misfortunes are as numerous as before, and do not cease, they make the sacrifices answerable, declaring that they have not been performed with sufficient reverence.

As regards exorcism, exorcism is of no use, and as regards sacrifices, sacrifices are of no avail. As respects wizards and priests, wizards and priests have no power, for it is plain that all depends upon man, and not on ghosts, on his virtue, and not on sacrifices.

## INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

**A.**

- Acupuncture 针, II, 158.  
 Alteration of nature and culture, prosperity and decay, III, 83.  
 Amulets and charms 簪服牙身, boys wear jade-stones, girls pearls, III, 114.  
 Ancestral tablet 主 of wood, one foot two inches long, III, 145.  
 Ancient characters 古文, III, 57, 64.  
 Angels, informing the Spirit of Heaven of human misdeeds, II, 72, a fallen angel 斥仙, II, 122.  
 Animals, are creatures like man, II, 61, the killing of animals is wicked, eod.  
 Anthroposcopy and physiognomy 骨相, Chap. XXIV.  
 Anti-alcoholic memorial, I, 268.  
 Antidotes, how given, I, 338.  
 Antiquarians know how to determine the age of old swords, II, 126.  
 Antiquity, overestimated by scholars and artists, III, 85.  
 Apparitions 妖, either ghosts shaped like men, or men behaving like ghosts, II, 13, 25.  
 Army 軍, 4,000 men, divided into 2 divisions 師, III, 60.  
 Ascension to heaven by the soul, II, 9, of *Huang Ti*, II, 113, of *Huai Nan Tse*, II, 116.  
 Auspicious grain 嘉禾, II, 104, 147.

**B.**

- Ballista 弩, of ten stones, III, 107, pulled with a windlass 車, III, 112.

- Beauty, engendered by a magical force, vicious and depraved, II, 83.  
 Bird 鳥, star, I, 298.  
 Births, supernatural, II, 99; III, 73.  
 Black Tortoise 左武, the northern quadrant of solar mansions, I, 286.  
 Blue Dragon 倉龍, the eastern quadrant of solar mansions, I, 286; III, 143.  
 Bronze vase of the year 669 n.c. with inscription, II, 125.  
 Burning glasses 陽燧, II, 159.  
 Burning of the Books by *Ch'in Shih Huang Ti*, I, 385; III, 56, 58, 99.
- C.**
- Cannibalism, in times of dearth, I, 350.  
 Ceremonies originate from a want of loyalty, I, 280.  
 Chance 幸, definition, I, 322, Chap. X.  
 Chaos 濁沌濛涒, II, 33.  
 Character 性 and natural gifts 才 determine human intelligence and conduct, I, 325, Chap. XXXI, transformed by instruction and the influence of virtue, II, 161, depend on the quantity of the original fluid, II, 162.  
*Chin (kin) 金*, old coins, I, 312, 326; II, 146, 158; III, 42.  
 Chopsticks 筷, of ivory considered a great luxury under the *Shang* dynasty, II, 135.  
 Chronicle of *Yü* 禹本紀 *Yü-pen-chi*, II, 35.  
 Commerce resorted to by lazy agriculturists, I, 350.

Contingencies 遭, definition, I, 322, contingencies and chance agree or disagree with destiny, I, 323.  
 Cook, in *Sung*, famous for butchery, II, 20.  
 Cow, may give birth to a horse, I, 282.  
 Creation, II, 33.  
 Cricket and chrysalis no emblem of immortality, II, 341.  
 Cries of a new-born child indicative of the length of its life, II, 95.  
 Cross-bow 弩, II, 32, 47; III, 142.

**D.**

Days and nights, their different lengths how caused, II, 40.  
 Death 死, Chap. XV, death the correlate of birth, II, 130.  
 Destiny 命, Chap. VIII and IX, destiny of a State stronger than that of individuals, I, 317, connected with the stars, *eod.*, natural 正, concomitant 隨, adverse 遭, I, 318, received at the time of conception, I, 319, does not agree with natural disposition, good or bad character, *eod.* determines life and death, rank and wealth, I, 324, not influenced by virtue or knowledge, *eod.*, natural destiny according to *Mencius'* view, III, 40, destiny depends on Heaven, III, 135.  
 Dipper 斗, constellation, II, 56; III, 59.  
 Diseases have natural causes, III, 137.  
 Distance, its effect on vision, II, 42, 47, 55.  
 Divination 卜筮, Chap. XIV, by tortoise shell and milfoil, I, 362, by shells and by diagrams, III, 135.  
 Dragon 龍, attracts the clouds and the rain, II, 60, 137, fetched by Heaven during a tempest, II, 66,

rising to heaven, II, 74, an auspicious animal, II, 104, a reptile that undergoes transformations, II, 108. Chap. XXIX, lives in the water, II, 132, like fish and reptiles, II, 133, represented with a horse's head and a snake's tail, II, 134, mounts the clouds, and is like earthworms and ants, *eod.*, reptiles that can be domesticated and eaten, II, 135, not intelligent, *eod.*, dragon liver and unborn leopard, *eod.*, the dragon rides on the clouds, II, 138, contracts and expands its body, can become visible and invisible, II, 139, can transform itself, *eod.*

Dragon Star 龍星, III, 129.

Dreams and visions 夢, their nature doubtful, I, 380, 395, direct dreams, II, 9, interpretation of dreams, I, 369.

Dwarfs, used as actors, III, 82.

**E.**

Eagles transformed into pigeons and vice versa, II, 149.

Earth 地, has a body like man, I, 363, size of its area, II, 37, does not move, II, 48, high in the north-west and low in the south-east, II, 49.

Earthquake, predicted, I, 292, 307.

Eclipse 蝕, how caused, II, 50 seq.

Eight Diagrams 八卦, invented by *Fu Hsi*, expanded by *Wen Wang*, I, 267; III, 63, 83.

Elixir of life 金玉之精, made of gold and gems, drunk by Taoists, II, 120.

Emperors, their investiture by Heaven, I, 312, 313.

Energy, human, doubled by fear, III, 107.

Equanimity of the wise who placidly await their fate, I, 325, 329.

- Equinoxes**, vernal and autumnal 分, II, 40, 46.
- Exaggerations**, why people are fond of them, I, 265.
- Executions** are wicked, II, 61.
- Exorcism** 解除, Chap. XLIV.
- F.**
- Fate** *see* Destiny, I, 310, becomes the mind internally and the body externally, I, 311, is obtained spontaneously, not by any effort, I, 330, fate of long life, II, 94; III, 11.
- Felicitous plant** 貴莢, II, 147.
- Fever** 瘱 cured with pills causing perspiration, II, 63.
- Fifteen dynasties** 十五家 at the beginning of history, I, 270.
- Fifth month** child supposed to kill its parents, I, 341.
- Fishes** and birds are related, both can fly and are oviparous, II, 81, fishes and turtles are metamorphosed from snakes and reptiles, II, 107, 149.
- Five Birds** 五鳥, II, 153.
- Five Canons (Classics)** 五經:—*Yiking*, *Shiking*, *Shuking*, *Liki*, and *Ch'un-ch'iu*, I, 266; III, 56, 58, 99.
- Five Elements** 五行:—metal, wood, water, fire, and earth, I, 284, 381; II, 53.
- Five Emperors** and Three Rulers 五帝三王:—*Huang Ti*, *Chuan Hsü*, *K'u*, *Yao*, *Shun*, and *Yü*, *T'ang*, and *Wen Wang*, I, 256, 261, 281, 318; II, 105, 113, 115, 140, 153; III, 14, 73, 76, 93, 120.
- Five Grains** 五穀:—hemp, millet, rice, wheat, and beans, II, 162; III, 126.
- Five Lakes** 五湖 = *T'ai-hu* in *Kiangsu*, II, 161.
- Five Leading Princes** 伍伯:—Duke *Huan* of *Ch'i*, Duke *Wén* of *Chin*, Duke *Hsiang* of *Sung*, Duke *Chuang* of *Ch'u*, and Duke *Mu* of *Ch'in*, I, 254, 281.
- Five Mountains** 五嶽, sacred:—*T'ai-shan*, *Heng-shan*, *Hua-shan*, *Heng-shan*, and *Sung-shan*, II, 32.
- Five Organs** (intestines) 五臟:—the heart, the liver, the stomach, the lungs, and the kidneys, I, 285, 375, the necessary substratum of the Five Virtues, I, 375; II, 162, regulating the Vital Fluid, III, 105.
- Five Planetary Emperors** 五帝, II, 15.
- Five Planets** 五星:—Venus, Jupiter, Mercury, Mars, and Saturn, II, 52, are made of the substance of the Five Elements, II, 57.
- Five Qualities** 五常:—benevolence, justice, propriety, knowledge, and truth, II, 162, 171.
- Five Sacrifices** 五紀 of the house, the outer and inner doors, the well, the hearth, and the inner court, III, 119, 125. Five Sacrifices of the Princes, III, 128.
- Five State Robes** 五服, worn under the reign of the emperor *Yü*, III, 99.
- Five Time Keepers** 五紀 of the *Shuking*:—the year, month, day, stars, and dates of calendar, III, 61.
- Five Virtues** *see* Five Qualities, I, 285, 374; III, 83.
- Flatulence**, its causes, II, 76.
- Fluid** *see* Vital Fluid and Primogenital Fluid.
- Fluid-eaters** 食氣者, Taoists living on air to obtain immortality, II, 129.
- Flying fish**, II, 138.

Fortune-tellers 相工 and their methods, Chap. XXIV.

Founders melting metal, II, 75.

Four classes of the disciples of Confucius 四科, II, 157.

Four Grey Beards 四皓, recluses at the beginning of the Han epoch, III, 46.

Four Quadrants (Constellations)

四星:—Blue Dragon, White Tiger, Scarlet Bird, and Black Tortoise, II, 134.

Four Seas and Four Mountains 四海·四山

forming the limits of ancient China, II, 34.

Frogs become quails, II, 107, 117, 149.

## G.

Gems and pearls, made artificially by the Taoists, II, 159.

Genii 仙人, represented with feathers and wings, II, 74, 111, so light that they can fly like wild geese, II, 133.

Geomancers 占射事者, III, 140.

Ghosts 鬼, diffuse and invisible, I, 371, the dead do not become ghosts and have no consciousness, *eod.*; a name of the passive principle, *eod.*; ghosts are not the essence of the dead, I, 372 seq.; Chap. XVIII, ghosts are visions of sick people, II, 20, 21, apparitions of the fluid of sickness, II, 21, seen by madmen, *eod.*, made of the stony fluid, II, 22, ghosts the essence of old creatures, II, 22, ghosts living in men, *eod.*, the spirits of cyclical signs, II, 23, creatures like men:—flying corpses 飛尸, crawling demons 走凶, goblins 魔, devils 魔, II, 24, kingdom

of the Ghosts 鬼國, *eod.*, wicked ghosts 萬鬼, *eod.*, ghosts apparitions in human shape, II, 25, are the Yang fluid, therefore red, burning and able to abscond, II, 27, know what is secret, II, 72, devils are supernatural apparitions produced by the sun, II, 80, ghosts are burning poison and have a red colour, II, 80, ghosts and spirits more ethereal than immortals, III, 133, insensible of joy and anger, *eod.*, expulsion of ghosts, III, 141, sick people see ghosts, III, 142.

*Ghost of Fever* 虐鬼, son of Chuan Hsü, II, 23; III, 143.

*God* 上帝 = Shang Ti, I, 314, 342, 383; a public spirit, who does not trouble about private grievances, I, 384; II, 4, 8, 102, 109, 136.

*Golden Age*, its praise unfounded, III, 80 seq.

*Government*, must be based on virtue, not on criminal law, III, 50, by not governing, I, 275.

*Grand Annalist* 太史公 = *Sse Ma Chien*, the author of the *Shi-chi*, I, 266, 276, 291, 295, 328, 333, 347, 348; II, 35, 113, 126; III, 71, 72, 73.

*Great Diviner of Chi* 齊太卜 = Yen Tse, I, 292, 339.

*Great Wall*, constructed by Meng Tien, I, 347.

*Green Dragon* see Blue Dragon, II, 82.

## H.

*Halo* (aureole) 光氣, I, 353, 358.

*Happiness* 福 and fortune 祿 not connected with wisdom and intelligence, I, 325, Chap. XI and XII, not given by Heaven as a reward, I, 336.

**Hare 兔**, in the moon, II, 49, conceives by licking the pubescence of plants, and the leveret issues from its mouth, II, 100.

**Heart 心**, governs the members and the senses and is not governed by them I, 291, constellation, I, 298, 307; II, 11.

**Hearth 灶**, sacrifice to, II, 124, God of the Hearth, III, 128.

**Heat and cold 寒溫**, Chap. XXI, not influenced by the sovereign, II, 59, coinciding with joy and anger, II, 69.

**Heaven 天**, emits its fluid everywhere, but acts spontaneously, I, 272, has neither mouth nor eyes, *eod.*, its fluid is:—placid, tranquil, desireless, inactive, and unbiased. **恬澹無欲無爲無事**, I, 273, its principle spontaneity, I, 275, and inactive, I, 279, does not speak nor act, I, 281, reprimands contrary to its nature, I, 282, affects things, but is not affected by them, I, 289, is the master of man and things, *eod.* and I, 291, its fluid forms the shapeless empyrean, I, 293, not moved by the sighs of ten thousand people, *eod.*, does not reprimand a sovereign, nor kill malefactors, I, 306, Heaven's spontaneity and inaction preclude wisdom and sensations, I, 307, Heaven does not speak, I, 308, the words of the wise are the words of Heaven, *eod.*, anthropomorphisms of the *Shiking* and the *Shuking*, *eod.*; the heart of Heaven in the bosom of the Sages, I, 309, Heaven's decree, I, 310, 312; III, 17, Heaven is spontaneous, I, 313, human qualities ascribed to it, I, 314, wealth and honour come from Heaven, I, 316 seq., III, 13, its body, I, 363, Heaven does not speak nor

hear, its nature is non-interference, I, 164; II, 8, Heaven's ways difficult to understand, II, 23; Chap. XIX, the pure elements formed heaven, the impure ones earth, II, 33, heaven is not air, but has a body, II, 38, its distance from earth, *eod.*, its circumference 365 degrees, *eod.*, not raised in summer, nor depressed in winter, II, 41, not high in the south, nor low in the north, *eod.*, not shaped like a reclining umbrella, II, 42, looks like a bowl turned upside down, *eod.*, is as level as earth, II, 43, heaven makes a circumvolution of 365 degrees = 730,000 Li every day, II, 47, heaven's movement the spontaneous emission of fluid, II, 49, its distance from earth upwards of 60,000 Li, II, 56, its principle spontaneity, II, 64, Heaven's anger, II, 67, the dark blue sky, *eod.*, Heaven humanised, *eod.*; all beings to Heaven like children, II, 70, Heaven does not write, II, 76, emits its fluid into Earth, II, 103, minister of Heaven, III, 30, *Mencius* on Heaven, III, 31, the Heaven of antiquity is the Heaven of to-day, III, 80, Heaven is a body like the Earth, III, 118, Heaven the master of the hundred spirits, III, 135, virtues are its principles *eod.*

**Heaven and Earth 天地**, by the fusion of their fluids all things are produced, I, 272, are like husband and wife, I, 273, 279; II, 68, 103, are inactive, I, 277, cannot act, are devoid of knowledge, I, 281, do not create man on purpose, I, 283, their fluids mixing, things grow naturally and spontaneously, I, 284, the great man equals them in virtue, I, 309, believed to punish the wicked, I, 344, cannot be interrogated by

diviners, I, 362, do not respond, I, 364; have a body, *eod.*; set in order, I, 373, contain air, II, 33, act in spontaneous harmony, II, 58, their nature is spontaneity, II, 61, father and mother of mankind, II, 68, like a great furnace filled with *Yang* (fire) and *Yin* (water), II, 75, 101, III, are both bodies, II, 118, were not born and do not die, II, 130, conjointly produce all things, III, 80, their size many ten thousand Li, III, 119, the emperor treats Heaven like his father and Earth like his mother, III, 126, in man the mind of Heaven and Earth reach their highest development, III, 138.

**Heavenly fluid 天氣**, I, 290, 318.

**Heavenly officials 百官**, the stars, I, 318; II, 8.

**Hill sacrifice 封禪**, *Feng-shan*, II, 113.

**Homeopathic treatment 以類治之**; cold cured by cold, and fever by fire, II, 80.

**Hook Star 鈎星** = Mercury, I, 307.

**Hot Water Abyss see T'ang-ku.**

**House 房星**, constellation, I, 292, 298, 307.

**Human Emperors 人皇**, mythical rulers of remotest antiquity, I, 373; II, 33.

### I.

**Ignorance**, blissful of primitive times, I, 280.

**Immortality**, drug of **仙藥**, II, 116, aimed at by Taoists, II, 117, 124.

**Inaction 無爲**, I, 272.

**Incidents 偶**, definition, I, 323.

**Intoxication**, the virtuous believed not to become intoxicated, III, 96.

### K.

**Killing animals** *see animals.*

### L.

**Land division in Wei**, II, 163.

**Language**, different in ancient and modern times and in different parts of the empire, I, 252.

**Life 生**; the Taoists endeavour to prolong life by quietism and dispassionateness, II, 127, its proper length a hundred years, II, 95; III, 81. Long life, the shortest 70 years, medium 80 years, longest 90 years, III, 61.

**Life and death 死生** depend on Destiny, I, 316 seq.

**Literati 儒**, II, 31, 33, 38, 46, 85, 113, 119; III, 43, 56, 82, 99.

**Luan 鶯**, bird inferior to the phoenix, II, 145.

**Luck 祿**, definition, I, 321.

**Lumbago (sciatica) 腓 or 邊**, said to be caused by devils flogging the patient, II, 80, cured with honey and cinnabar, *eod.*

### M.

**Madness 狂癲**, a disturbance of the vital force, II, 21, of nature, II, 161.

**Magpies 乾鵠**, know the future, II, 139.

**Man**, born from Heaven and Earth and endowed with the heavenly fluid, I, 277, why active, *eod.*; his insignificance, when compared with Heaven and Earth, I, 289, filled with the heavenly fluid, I, 291, a tiny creature, I, 292, imbibing the heavenly fluid man is born, I, 318, man a pigmy, I, 363, before his birth and after death man is part of the primogenital fluid, I, 374, he is born and

kept alive by the *Yin* and the *Yang*, II, 30, a creature like others, II, 70, the noblest of the productions of Heaven and Earth, II, 101, 133, like lice, II, 103, is born by propagation, *eod.*, never metamorphosed, II, 108, not different from other creatures, II, 116, first among naked creatures, II, 134; III, 137, endowed with a spontaneous mind and a uniform disposition, II, 167, average people and people above and below the average, II, 167, 172, endowed with the nature of Heaven and Earth, II, 171, with the Five Qualities, *eod.*, the most intelligent of the ten thousand creatures, III, 137.

**Marriage**, age of, III, 81.

**Matriarchate**, III, 82.

**Mechanisms**:—a flying kite, a wooden carriage and horses, made by *Mé Tse* and *Lu Pan*, III, 108.

**Medicine**, liquid and pills, II, 63, mineral drugs 藥石, II, 33.

**Meteors** 星墜, II, 11, 52, 55 seq.; III, 116.

**Miracles** 怪, II, 25, Chap. XXVI.

**Moon** 月, moves 13 degrees = 26,000 Li every day, II, 47, a hare and a toad in the moon, II, 49, the moon is water, *eod.*

**Music**, its power on animals, II, 160, its magical force, II, 3.

## N.

**Naked People** 裸國, III, 16.

**Nature** 性, natural 正, concomitant 隨, adverse 遭, I, 320, human nature affected by its environment, II, 156, by instruction, II, 163, different views on original nature, Chap. XXXII.

**Natural feelings** and natural disposition 情性, the basis of human activity, II, 165, said to correspond to the *Yin* and the *Yang*, II, 170.

**Nine Continents** 九州, II, 34.

**Nine Heavens** 九垓, II, 120.

**Nine Provinces** (Circuits) 九州 = China, II, 34, 171.

**Nine Relations** 九族, ascendants and descendants, III, 101.

**Nine Streams** 九川, II, 42.

**Nine Tripods** 九鼎, of the *Chou* dynasty, disappeared, I, 398, auspicious, III, 114, their history, III, 115.

**Nine Wild Tribes of the East** 九夷, III, 15.

**Notes**, musical, II, 1.

**Noxious influences** 禿, Chap. XLIII.

**Nursing of children**, II, 95.

## O.

**Odes of the Shiking** 詩, I, 271.

**Omens** (Portents) 驘, Chap. XIII, different kinds, I, 353, 363, the lucky meet with lucky omens by chance, I, 366, omens and signs are always true, I, 370, shaped like man, II, 11, indicate future happiness or misfortune, II, 26, correspond to something good, II, 149, happen spontaneously, *eod.*, during the *Han* epoch, II, 153; III, 15, under *Ming Ti*, III, 88, under *Kuang Wu Ti*, III, 89.

**Ominous creatures** 瑞物, have no species, are born by accident, II, 146, from a propitious fluid, II, 147.

**Original fluid**, see Primogenital fluid.

**Orphan of Chao** 趙孤, I, 357.

## P.

- Parrots 鹩鵡, can talk, II, 139.  
 Pearls, genuine ones in fishes, II, 54,  
     and shells, II, 159.  
 Pearl-tree in the farthest southwest 珠樹, II, 54.  
 Perfect man, L 314.  
 Phantoms 妖 consist of the solar fluid, II, 26, emit poison, II, 28.  
 Phoenix 凤凰, Chap. XXX, a holy bird, huge with a variegated plumage, II, 140, accompanied by thousands of birds, II, 144, phoenix and unicorn signs of universal peace, II, 145, as big as a horse; 5 feet high, II, 147, did not come at Confucius' time, III, 14.  
 Phenomenalists 變復之家, scholars who explained calamities and other natural phenomena by moral causes, L 307, 308; II, 62, 64.  
 Physiognomy see Anthroposcopy.  
 Physiognomists, have divided human features into more than seventy classes, L 252.  
 Pillar of Heaven 天柱 = *K'un-lun*, I, 269; II, 31.  
 Plan of the Yellow River 河圖, I, 275; II, 19, 75; III, 14, 63.  
 Plum, may grow on a cherry-tree, L 282.  
 Poison 毒, Chap. XXIII, the hot air of the sun, II, 79, bad men filled with a poisonous fluid, II, 81, poison of glib-tongued people, II, 84.  
 Pole of heaven 天極, II, 36.  
 Polar star 極星, II, 41, 斗極, II, 44.  
 Polygamy, its drawbacks, L 321.  
 Portents see Omens.  
 Posthumous titles, L 342, 388; II, 144.  
 Pregnant women, what they are to avoid, while with child, L 321.

- Primitive life, III, 83, happy without virtue and knowledge, L 280.  
 Primogenital fluid 元氣, vague, diffuse, and unconscious, the human fluid a part of it, L 374, genuine and harmonious; all people filled with it, III, 80.  
 Primordial generation of fish and grass, II, 119.  
 Propriety and righteous upheld against *Han Fei Tse*, III, 43 seq.  
 Public instruction and criminal law what for, II, 161.  
 Punishments meted out in autumn and winter, L 328; II, 61, 72.  
 Purple boletus 紫芝, a felicitous plant, L 312, eaten by Taoists, II, 120.

## Q.

- Quipos, III, 82.

## R.

- Rain 雨, portended by insects, by the expansion of chords, and by chronic diseases, I, 289, its origin, II, 58, becomes dew and frost, *eod.*; a fluid emitted by heaven, II, 70, the Rain God 雨師, III, 120, 130.  
 Rat 鼠病, a skin-disease cured by eating a cat, I, 338.  
 Raven 三足鳥, three-legged, cannot live in the sun, II, 49.  
 Red Emperor 赤帝, L 358; II, 15.  
 Rhinopitheens 独牲, knows the past, II, 139.

## S.

- Sacrifices 祭祀, Chap. XLI and XLII, presented to Heaven and Earth, Mountains and Rivers, the Spirits of the Land and Grain, III, 119, 125, to the Five Genii and the ancestors, III, 125 to *Shangti*, to the Six Superior Powers, *eod.*, the

imperial, suburban, patriarchal, and ancestral sacrifices, *eod.*, sacrifices to the Seasons, to Heat and Cold, the Sun, the Moon, the Stars, the Four Cardinal Points, to Water and Drought, III, 126, to Earth, at the meals, III, 132, to the Five Emperors and Three Rulers, III, 125, to Mountains, Gates, and Doors, III, 145, of an ox, III, 123, of wood, a calf, a sheep, III, 125 seq., of millet, rice-cake, and soup offered to Earth, III, 119, the meaning of sacrifices, III, 118, 144, motives of sacrifices:—gratitude and ancestor worship, III, 126, they are not enjoyed by ghosts or spirits, but merely symbolical, III, 131, of no avail, III, 146.

Sages, ended with the harmonious fluid, II, 97, not imbued with a special fluid, II, 103, credited with the gift of prophecy, II, 134, produced by Heaven every 500 years, III, 33.

Sage birds and animals, II, 152.

Scarlet Bird 朱鳥, the southern quadrant of solar mansions, I, 286.

Schools 序, founded from olden times, III, 43.

Scroll of the *Lo* 洛書, I, 275; II, 19, 75; III, 63.

Secretary falcon 鳩, poisonous, II, 82.

Sensations, how caused by the mental fluid, II, 20.

Seven Sacrifices 七祀, performed by the Emperor, III, 128.

Seventy odd disciples of Confucius 七十子, all sages, I, 331, 348; II, 156; III, 1, 5.

Sickness not a punishment of Heaven, I, 299.

Six Classics 六經, the Five Classics and the Classic of Music, I, 308.

### Six Departments of Literature 六部

下 under the *Han* dynasty:—classics, six arts, philosophy, poetry, military science, and divination, I, 263; III, 79.

### Six Domestic Animals 六畜

the horse, the ox, the goat, the pig, the dog, and the fowl, I, 373.

### Six Honoured ones 六宗

III, 125.

### Six Institutions of the *Chou* dynasty 六典

administration, instruction, rites, police, jurisdiction, public welfare, III, 64.

### Six Passions 六情

:—cheerfulness, anger, grief, joy, love, and hatred, I, 290.

### Six States 六國

:—*Yen*, *Chao*, *Han*, *Wei*, *Chi*, and *Ch'u*, leagued against *Ch'in*, II, 59, 86; III, 46.

### Sixty-four Diagrams 六十四卦

卦, composed by *Wen Wang*, I, 267; III, 63.

### Solstices 至

in summer and winter, II, 40, 46.

### Sophists 辩士

:—poison flowing from their mouths, II, 84.

### Sorcerers 巫

:—filled with the *Yang* fluid, II, 27, 79, live in the South, II, 28, can predict fate, *eod.*

### Soul 魂

:—the souls of the dead are dissolved and cannot hear any more, I, 387; animal soul 魄 and mind

### 魂

, I, 389, the soul = vital fluid, II,

### Southern Circuit 南郡

= *Tung-chün* in *Hupei*, II, 79.

### Sparrows turn into clams

, II, 107, 117, 149.

### Speech and fire have the same essence

, II, 81.

### Spirits 鬼神

:—believed to punish the guilty, I, 344, diffuse and shape-

- less 憒惚無形, I, 371, 神 spirit, a name of the active principle, I, 371, 神氣 the spiritual fluid forms man and at death reverts to its original state, I, 372; spirits are unconscious, I, 377, spirits Heaven's angels, II, 72, diffuse and incorporeal, II, 73, 133; III, 145, can soar, *eod.*, what is vague and unsubstantial has the nature of a spirit, II, 134, it seems as if the spirits helped the happy and caused the misfortune of the miserable, I, 324, 340, clothes, 5-6 inches long, offered to spirits, III, 124.
- Spirit bird 神雀, II, 145.
- Spirit of Earth 土神, propitiated after the building of a house, III, 144.
- Spirit of Heaven 天神, reprimanding a sovereign, I, 299, impersonated by a man, II, 13, angry, II, 68, like a king in his residence, II, 71, 133, changing his mind, III, 19.
- Spirit of Rain 雨師, II, 3.
- Spirit of Sickness 疫鬼, III, 143.
- Spirit of the Wind 風伯, II, 3.
- Spiritism by means of mediums in a trance, I, 376.
- Spontaneity 自然, Chap. III, means absence of purpose, II, 64.
- Spontaneous fluid 氣自爲, I, 231, 310.
- Spontaneous harmony of heaven and earth, when it rains, II, 58.
- Spook 妖, Chap. XVII.
- Spring and Autumn 春秋, work of Confucius, III, 23, 56, 60, 61.
- Spring and Autumn period, 722 to 480 B.C., I, 296, 390; II, 50, 52, 55, 135, 143, 144; III, 60.
- Stars 星, their effluence 氣 gives wealth and honour, I, 318, produces and develops things on earth, II, 22, stars are not round, II, 52, their size a hundred Li, II, 56, are attached to heaven, III, 120.
- Struggle for existence, I, 285 seq.
- Style, I, 250 et seq.
- Sun 日, ten suns in Yao's time, I, 269; II, 52, the sun came back, I, 269, reverted to the meridian, *eod.*, and I, 296, encircled by a white halo, when Ching K'o stabbed Shih Huang Ti, I, 298, solar fluid = heavenly fluid, II, 30, motion of the sun and the moon, II, 31, Chap. XX, the sun takes 16 different courses during a year, not 9, II, 41, its different size in the morning and at noon, II, 44, sun and moon like ants crawling on a mill-stone are carried along by heaven from east to west, II, 47, the sun moves 1 degree = 2,000 Li every day, *eod.*, is fire, II, 48, a three-legged raven in the sun, II, 49, sun and moon not round, II, 52, the sun is fire, II, 138.
- Sun-stroke 火流所刺, the effect of poisonous air, II, 80, 81.
- Swearing by Heaven, III, 12 seq.
- Sweet dew甘露, a lucky omen, produced by the harmonious fluid, II, 147, 154.
- Swords, their manufacture, II, 158, famous swords, III, 112-113.
- T.
- Tail 尾, constellation, I, 298.
- Tao 道, the fundamental principle of Taoism, I, 328; II, 109, 114, 117, 127.
- Taoism, I, 282.
- Taoists, argue on spontaneity, I, 272, 277, made an artificial apparition of Lady Wang, *eod.*, possess real virtue *i.e.* inaction and quietism, I, 280, said to have become genii,

II, 109, exhibiting tricks at the court of *Huai Nan Tse*, II, 116, drinking the elixir of life and eating purple boletus, II, 120, cannot be drowned nor burned, II, 123, Chap. XXVIII, living on air and regulating their breath to become immortal, II, 129, take medicines with a view to prolong life, II, 130, make artificial gems, II, 159, studying the art of immortality, III, 133.

Tempest, expression of Heaven's anger, II, 66, 132.

### Thirty-five kingdoms 三十五國

**國**, beyond the sea, where plumbigerous and feathered tribes live, II, 35, 111.

Three Dynasties 三代:—*Hsia*, *Yin*, and *Chou*, I, 394; II, 100, 103; III, 73, their different systems of government, III, 84.

Three hundred scaly animals 三百鱗蟲, of which the dragon the first, II, 134.

Three hundred and sixty naked animals 三百六十倮蟲, among which man ranks first, III, 137.

Three Mountains disappeared during the *Ch'in* epoch, II, 57; III, 116.

Three Offerings 三祀, made to the Genii of Spring, Autumn, and Winter, III, 127.

Three Rulers see Five Emperors and Three Rulers.

Three Sacrifices 三祀, of the high dignitaries, III, 128.

Thunder 雷, Chap. XXII, not Heaven's angry voice, II, 66, not caused by Heaven's fetching a dragon, II, 66, represented by drums or as the "Thunderer", II, 73, the exploding solar fluid, II, 75, fire, *eod.*; why thunder must be fire,

II, 76, the thunder and the dragon attract one another, II, 137, thunder how caused, II, 138.

Thunder goblet 雷爵, of the *Hsia* dynasty, II, 74; III, 115.

Thunderer 雷公, the God of Thunder, an athlete with drums and a hammer, II, 73; III, 120, 130.

Tiger 虎, howling attracts the wind, II, 60, 137.

Time 時, propitious or unpropitious, I, 325, 326, definition, I, 351, determines happy and unhappy events, III, 135.

Time periods 節氣, 24 solar periods, into which the year is divided, II, 62.

Toad 蟾蜍, cannot live in the moon, II, 49.

Tortoise 神龜, spiritual, II, 146.

France (Faint) 疏, I, 375, 376.

Tribute of *Yü* 禹貢, *Yü-kung*, chapter of the *Shuking*, II, 34, 52, 159.

Twelve Holy Men = Twelve Sages 十二聖, II, 85, 103, 140.

Twelve horary characters and their corresponding animals 十二辰之禽, I, 286.

Twelve Spirits of the Cardinal Points 十二神, III, 143.

Twenty-eight constellations (solar mansions) 二十八宿, the resting-places of sun and moon, II, 38.

Two Sacrifices 二祀, to the Spirit of Fire and the Lord of the Soil, III, 127; Two Sacrifices of ordinary scholars, III, 128.

### U.

Unconsciousness of the dead, I, 374.

Unicorn 麒麟 = *Kilin*, II, 47, like a deer with one horn, a holy animal,

II, 140, a white unicorn with five feet, II, 151, like a deer with two horns, *eod.*, resembling a stag, *eod.*, wild animal with joined horns, II, 152.

## V.

Vermilion grass 朱草, an auspicious plant, I, 312; II, 147.

Visions of ghosts, caused by pain and fear, II, 20.

Vital fluid 氣, 精氣 or 氣力 the length of life depends upon it, I, 318, man lives by the vital fluid residing in the arteries, I, 371, it fills the body as millet and rice a bag, and disperses at death, I, 372; blood the vital force of the living, I, 373; its seat in the blood, I, 374, 375; vital energy maintained by eating and drinking, I, 378; vital force within the body and outside the body, I, 178; through death the fluid is lost, and the vital spirit 精神 dissolved, I, 379; after death it is a formless fluid, *eod.*; the vital spirit of all creatures is extinguished by death, it evaporates and disappears, I, 381, causes thought and sensations, II, 20, it gives knowledge and speech, II, 30, copious or scarce, determines the length of life, II, 94, 110, received by men at their birth, forms the constitution, II, 106, vanishes at death, II, 111, is drawn from food, II, 129, the vital force concentrated forms the human being, II, 131.

Vital force = Vital fluid.

## W.

Water Spirit 魁魖, son of Chuan Hsü, II, 23; III, 143.

Weird sayings of children 童謠, II, 13, 18, due to the influence of Mars, II, 27.

White Emperor 白帝, II, 15.

White Tiger 白虎, western quadrant of solar mansions, I, 286; III, 143.

Will-o'-the-wisp 燐, the blood of the slain, I, 373.

Wind 風, foreseen by insects, I, 289; its influence on robbers and thieves, and on the market prices, I, 290; winds on New Year's Day portend the new year, I, 291, lucky wind, I, 361, the God of Wind 風伯, III, 120, 130.

Wine-spring 酒泉, an auspicious portent, II, 147.

Wizards and priests 巫祝, have no power, III, 146.

World, lying in the South-east of the universe, II, 36, 44.

## Y.

*Yang* 陽 fluid (principle) comes forth spontaneously, I, 279, 290; governs life, I, 291; the hot fluids, *eod.*, is broiling hot, I, 306; becomes the mind, I, 389, is fire and as such hot and red, II, 27, boys and sorcerers imbued with it, *eod.*; it predominates at the time of a drought, *eod.*, the *Yang* fluid produces the vital spirit, II, 30, shines like the sun, prevails in summer and is scarce in winter, II, 39, is warm and genial, II, 60, is brightness and warmth, II, 65, an immense fire, II, 75, ornaments originate from the *Yang*, II, 83.

*Yin* 陰 fluid (principle), I, 279, 290; governs death, I, 291, the cold fluids, *eod.* rushing against the hot *Yang* fluid, I, 306, predominates during an eclipse of the sun, II, 27, it produces the bones and flesh, II, 30, is dark, abounds in winter, and falls short in summer, II, 39, corresponds to

the North, II, 40, is cold murder, II, 60, is rain and cold, II, 65, clouds and rain are *Yin*, II, 75.

*Yin* and *Yang* 陰陽, in harmony, I, 278, 283, 306; *Yin* and *Yang* crystallise and produce man, who by death is again dissolved into these fluids, I, 376; can injure the good, II, 23, cause the length and the shortness of the days, II, 39, 64, *Yin*

and *Yang* coming into friction produce thunder and lightning, II, 75, 120, 129; *Yin* and *Yang* were not born and do not die, II, 130, their fluids the fluids of Heaven and Earth, II, 149; *Yin* and *Yang* and good and evil, II, 169, disorganised, when propriety and righteousness are neglected, III, 43, in harmony, when the government is good, III, 74.

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## INDEX OF PROPER NAMES.

## A.

- Ai 哀, duke of *Lao*, I, 254; III, 11.  
 Ai 哀, duke of *Wei*, III, 105.  
 Ai Ti 哀帝, *Han* emperor, II, 146.  
*Analects* 論語 = *Lun-yü*, the Utterances of *Confucius*, I, 245, 314; II, 69, 76; III, 2, 23, 65, 76, 108, 109, 129; their origin and original size, III, 65.  
 Ang 邦, prince of *Wei*, treacherously killed by *Wei Yang*, I, 351.  
 Annam 日南, the South of the Sun, II, 37.  
 Annamese 越 mahout, I, 288; III, 122.  
 Aquila 牝牛 = Herdsman, a constellation reached by the sun in winter, II, 40.

## B.

- Baktria 大夏, II, 35.

## C.

- Chai 翟, a slave-girl of *Chien*, Viscount of *Chao*, II, 88.  
 Ch'ai 柴, region in *Shantung*, I, 360.  
 Chan-shu 識書, book of prophecies, II, 100; III, 75.  
 Ch'ian Tse 纏子, a Mēhist of the *Han* time, I, 342.  
 Chang 清, river in *Honan*, II, 163.  
 Chang-an 長安, capital under the *Han*, I, 359.  
 Chang Ch'ien 張騫, a famous traveller, II, 35.  
 Chang Chung Shih 張仲師, a giant, III, 82.
- Chang Liang 張良, partisan of *Han Kao Tsu*, I, 275, 358, 392; II, 16, 108, 149.  
 Chang Meng T'an 張孟談, minister of Viscount *Hsiang* of *Chao*, II, 11.  
 Chang Pa 張霸, produced a *Shuking*, III, 57.  
 Chang Po Sung 張伯松, contemporary of *Yang Hsiung*, III, 86.  
 Chang Shang 張商, III, 73.  
 Chang T'ang 張湯, a tall man, II, 148; III, 82.  
 Chang Tse Fang 張子房, see *Chang Liang*, III, 46.  
 Chang Yi 張儀, a native of *Wei* had a double rib, I, 295; II, 86, 141; contemporary of *Su Ch'in*, III, 73.  
 Chang Wu 章武, marquis of, I, 359.  
 Chang 昌, personal name of *Wen Wang*, I, 311.  
 Chang 常, mountain in *Shansi*, II, 7.  
 Chang-lo 長樂, a palace, II, 140.  
 Chang-p'ing 長平, a city in *Shansi*, I, 294, 297, 298, 316, 322, 346; III, 139.  
 Chao 昭, king of *Ch'in*, III, 115.  
 Chao 昭, duke of *Han*, I, 334.  
 Chao 朝, prince of *Sung*, a Paris, III, 82.  
 Chao State 趙, in *Shansi*, I, 249, 254, 276, 294, 296, 316, 327, 346, 382, 389; II, 4, 10, 87, 88, 102; III, 110, 117, 139.  
 Chao Kao 趙高, a eunuch, who contrived the death of *Fu Su*, I, 294.

- Chao-ko** 朝歌, a city, II, 116.  
**Chao Liang** 趙良, I, 279.  
**Chao So** 趙朔, a relative of *Chao Tun*, I, 357.  
**Chao Ti** 景帝, *Han* emperor, III, 65.  
**Chao T'o** 趙他, king of the southern *Yüeh*, I, 304; II, 163.  
**Chao Tse Tu** 趙子都, a scholar, I, 327.  
**Chao Tun** 趙盾, minister of *Chin* and deadly enemy of *T'u An Ku*, I, 357.  
**Chao Tso** 霽錯, received the *Shuking* from its hiding place, 2nd cent. n.e., III, 57, 59.  
**Chê** 喬, famous robber, I, 259, 319, 348; II, 145, 169; III, 37, 54.  
**Chefoo** 之罘, mountain in *Shantung*, II, 12.  
**Ch'èn** 陳, family in *Wei*, murdered its sovereign, III, 49.  
**Ch'èn State** 陳, in southern *Henan*, I, 259, 298, 317; III, 84, 108.  
**Ch'èn Chen** 陳臻 = *Ch'èn Tse*, III, 28.  
**Ch'èng Chung Tse** 陳仲子, a recluse, III, 36.  
**Ch'èn-liu** 陳留, place in *Henan*, I, 359.  
**Ch'èn P'ing** 陳平, very poor, but fine looking, II, 86.  
**Ch'èn Shé** 陳涉, king of *Ch'u*, II, 17.  
**Ch'èn Tse** 陳子, a disciple of *Mencius*, III, 28.  
**Ch'èn Tse Hui** 陳子迴, a scholar, III, 78.  
**Ch'èn Yuan** 陳元, admirer of the *Tso-chuan*, III, 71.  
**Ch'èng** 正君, Lady, aunt of the emperor *Wang Mang*, became empress herself, II, 87.  
**Chêng State** 鄭, in *Henan*, I, 254, 298, 302, 317, 388, 394; II, 16, 92; III, 52, 74, 109.  
**Chêng Chi** 鄭季, father of *Wei Ch'ing*, II, 89.  
**Chêng-wu** 政務, work of *Wang Ch'ung*, on government, I, 250, 266, 267, 268, 270, 271.  
**Chêng 成**, king of *Chou*, I, 303, 309, 326; II, 155; III, 33, 89, 103.  
**Chêng 成**, king of *Ch'u*, I, 369, 387.  
**Chêng 乘**, chronicle of the *Chin* State, I, 268; III, 66.  
**Chêng Chi Yo** 成季友, son of Duke *Huan* of *Lu*, I, 275; II, 18.  
**Chêng T'ang** 成湯, founder of the *Shang* dynasty, I, 322.  
**Chêng Ti** 成帝, *Han* emperor, II, 87, 146.  
**Chêng Ying Chi** 程嬰齊, adherent of *Chao So*, I, 357.  
**Chi 稷** = *Hou Chi*, Lord *Chi*, god of cereals, ancestor of the *Chou* dynasty, I, 325; II, 168; III, 73, 125.  
**Chi 季**, family in *Lu*, I, 254; III, 4, 26, 53.  
**Chi 季** = *Chi Li*, son of *Tan Fu*, I, 300.  
**Chi 稷**, territory in *Shansi*, I, 391.  
**Chi 姬**, surname of the *Chou* dynasty, II, 99, 103.  
**Chi Huan Tse** 季桓子, Prince *Huan* of *Chi*, III, 26.  
**Chi Li** 季歷, son of *Tan Fu*, I, 300, 311.  
**Chi-mo 卽墨**, city in *Shantung*, II, 13.  
**Chi-nan 濟南**, city in *Shantung*, III, 56.  
**Chi-pei 濟北**, place in *Shantung*, II, 17.  
**Chi su chieh yi 譏俗節義**, Censures on Morals, work of *Wang Ch'ung*, I, 248, 250, 251.

- Chi Tse 箕子, a noble under *Chou Hsin*, II, 135.
- Chi Tse 季子, prince of *Wu*, III, 132.
- Chi-yang 濟陽, in *Shantung*, I, 360.
- Chi-yang 濟陽, palace, I, 312, 360; II, 104, 146.
- Chi Yen 汲黯, statesman under *Han Wu Ti*, I, 274.
- Ch'i 杷, State in *Honan*, I, 296.
- Ch'i 戚, Lady, a concubine of *Han Kao Tsu*, massacred by the Empress *Lü Hou*, II, 71.
- Ch'i 齊, State in *Shantung*, I, 292, 301, 307, 327, 341, 352, 356, 386, 393; II, 7, 13, 19, 26, 61, 91, 122, 125, 160; III, 28, 30, 32, 36, 45, 49, 65, 72, 90, 100, 108, 110.
- Ch'i 啟, successor of the Emperor *Yü*, I, 308.
- Ch'i 奚 = *Hou Chi*, I, 310; III, 127.
- Ch'i Chi 奚疚, prince of *Ch'u*, I, 356.
- Ch'i-hsien 篴縣, district in *Anhui*, II, 147.
- Ch'i Liang 杠梁, an officer of *Ch'i*, I, 292, 296, 297.
- Ch'i Shêng 祁勝, made a rebellion in *Chin*, in the 6th cent. B.C., II, 166.
- Ch'i Tiao K'ai 漆雕開, philosopher, disciple of *Confucius*, II, 165.
- Chia = Chia Yi 賈誼, a poet, on destiny, I, 328; III, 78.
- Chiang 絳, a principality in *Shansi*, II, 89, 135.
- Chiang Yuan 姜原, mother of *Hou Chi*, II, 101, 103; III, 73.
- Ch'iang 羌, tribes in the West of China, I, 349.
- Ch'iang Jung 羌戎, western barbarians, 500.
- Chiao 橋, mountain in *Kansu* or *Shensi*, where *Huang Ti* was buried, II, 114.
- Chieh 桀 = *Chieh Kuei*, I, 270; III, 87.
- Chieh and Chou 桀紂, I, 342, 390; II, 99; III, 90, 96, 116, 136, 143.
- Chieh Ju 藉孺, a minion, I, 333.
- Chieh Kuei 桀癸, tyrant, last emperor of the *Hsia* dynasty, II, 156.
- Chien 漸, name of terrace near *Chang-an*, III, 95.
- Chien 簡, viscount of *Chao*, I, 276, 382; II, 4, 88, 102.
- Chien 簡, duke of *Yen*, II, 29.
- Chien-chang 建章, name of a palace of the *Han* emperors, I, 343; II, 89.
- Chien-lun 檢論, Critical Reflections, work of *Tsou Yen*, I, 267.
- Chien Ti 簡狄, mother of *Hsieh*, III, 73.
- Ch'ien-t'ang 錢唐, city in *Chekiang*, I, 244.
- Chih 知, territory in *Chin*, II, 7, 10.
- Chih 鄭 = 鄭 Mou, district in *Chekiang*, II, 36.
- Chih 職, son of King *Ch'eng* of *Ch'u*, I, 387.
- Chih 琦, music-master of *Lu*, III, 76.
- Chih 稹, father of Lady *Chéng*, II, 87.
- Chih-fu 真符, unlucky day, III, 140.
- Ch'ih-hsien 赤縣, China, II, 34.
- Ch'ih Sung 赤松, a magician, II, 109.
- Ch'ih Yu 廿尤, a legendary person, I, 294; II, 3, 61; III, 51.
- Chin State 晉 in *Shansi*, I, 268, 275, 333, 342, 357, 369, 382, 386, 389, 391, 394; II, 1, 4, 7, 13, 18, 29, 102, 141, 150; III, 66, 74, 106, 109, 145.

- Chin 金, name of *Tung Fang So*, II, 127.
- Chin Chuan 斬專, a native of *K'uei Chi*, II, 71.
- Chin yang 晉陽, city in *Shansi*, II, 10.
- Ch'in State 秦, in *Shensi*, I, 249, 279, 294, 297, 302, 316, 327, 342, 346, 350, 358, 383, 391; II, 4, 86, 92, 109, 160; III, 44, 68, 72, 101, 109, 112, 139.
- Ch'in dynasty 秦, 249–206 n.c., I, 262, 275, 296, 313, 347; II, 61, 100, 108; III, 56, 59, 68, 92, 99, 115.
- Ch'in epoch 秦, I, 398; II, 57, 59; III, 86.
- Ch'in Hsi 禽息, smashed his head, III, 111.
- Ch'in Shih Huang Ti 秦始皇, founder of the *Ch'in* dynasty, reading *Han Fei Tse*, I, 252, 358, burned the books, I, 384, 399; II, 11, 16, 18, 92; III, 58, 99, 101, 115.
- Ching 涇, tributary of the *Huang-ho*, III, 75.
- Ching 荆, mountain in *Shensi*, II, 113.
- Ching 景, duke of *Sung*, II, 109.
- Ching 景, duke of *Ch'in*, I, 357.
- Ching 景, duke of *Chi*, I, 292, 393.
- Ching-chou 荆州, place in *Hubei*, III, 65.
- Ching Ch'u 景丑, an officer of *Chi*, III, 31.
- Ching = Ching Fang 京房, commentator of the *Yiking*, II, 64.
- Ching Ho 荆和, wept tears of blood, III, 110.
- Ching Ko 荆軻, attempted to assassinate *Ch'in Shih Huang Ti*, I, 297; III, 101, 112.
- Ching Ti 景帝, *Han* emperor, I, 359; II, 90; III, 57.
- Ching Tse 景子, viscount *Ching* of *Chao*, I, 389.
- Ching Tse Fei 荆次非, II, 133.
- Ching Tu 慶都, *Yao's* mother, II, 100.
- Ch'ing-ho 清河, prefecture in *Hunan*, I, 359.
- Ch'ing-ho 清河, city in *Shantung*, II, 87.
- Ch'ing Pu 黃布, a criminal, who became a prince II, 89, king of *Huainan*, attacked by *Han Kao Tsu*, I, 328.
- Chiu 揣 general of *Ch'in*, III, 115.
- Chin-ch'en 九眞, tribe in *Annam*, II, 151.
- Chin-chiang 九江, circuit in *Anhui*, I, 261.
- Chiu Fan 翁犯, officer of *Ch'in*, I, 369; II, 13.
- Chiung Sang 窮桑 = *Shao Hao*, III, 127.
- Cho-yung 著雍, territory, I, 386.
- Chou 紂 = *Chou Hsin*, last emperor of the *Shang* dynasty, I, 301, 303, 365, 367, 369; II, 2, 25, 29, 69, 135, 166; III, 87, 91, 95, 97, 98, 123.
- Chou 畫, a small place in *Chi*, III, 31.
- Chou dynasty 周, 1122–249 n.c., I, 309, 352, 367, 382, 385, 398; II, 29, 80, 99, 102, 140, 148; III, 32, 39, 64, 73, 76, 84, 89, 93, 98, 127, 129, 143.
- Chou 周 period, I, 294; II, 37, 165; III, 65, 82, 114.
- Chou 周 people, I, 263; II, 5; III, 48, 63.
- Chou 周 State, I, 298, 368; II, 169; III, 26.
- Chou 周 kingdom of the *Chou* dynasty in *Shensi*, III, 67.

- Chou Ch'ang Shêng 周長生, author, III, 78.
- Chou Ch'ing Ch'êng 周青臣, major-domo of *Shi Huang Ti*, III, 58, 99.
- Chou Kung 周公, Duke of *Chou*, brother of *Wu Wang*, I, 278, 301, 303, 305, 309, 326, 366, 385; II, 85, 97, 103; III, 4, 33, 49, 63, 98.
- Chou Li 周禮, Book of Rites of the *Chou*, III, 64.
- Chou Ya Fu 周亞夫, general and chief minister under *Han Wen Ti*, I, 329; II, 89.
- Chou Yi 周易 = *Yiking* of the *Chou* dynasty, III, 63.
- Chu 朱, tributary of the *Sse* in *Shantung*, I, 344.
- Chu 柱, Spirit of the Grain, III, 127.
- Chu Fu Yen 主父偃, enemy of *Tung Chung Shu*, I, 264, 327.
- Chu Yung 祝融, Genius of Summer and Fire, III, 127.
- Ch'u 楚, State in *Hupei* and *Hunan*, I, 268, 269, 293, 295, 298, 299, 302, 320, 336, 339, 340, 356, 369, 387; II, 71, 79, 82, 152, 160; III, 10, 47, 66, 104, 106, 110.
- Ch'u-t'se 楚辭, Elegies of *Ch'u*, I, 293.
- Ch'u Po Yü 越伯玉, a disciple of *Confucius*, I, 246, 275; III, 22.
- Ch'u Ping 屈平 = *Ch'u Yuan*, his death, I, 320.
- Ch'u Yuan 屈原, famous poet, who drowned himself, I, 293, 302; II, 3; III, 78.
- Chuan Hsü 顓王, mythical emperor, I, 269; II, 23, 31, 85, 103, 140; III, 125, 127, 131, 143.
- Chuan Yi 傳毅, a scholar, III, 78.
- Chüan 涓, music-master of *Wei*, II, 1.
- Chuang 莊, duke of *Lu*, II, 55.
- Chuang 莊, king of *Ch'u*, I, 302.
- Chuang Chiao 莊蹠, a robber, I, 319; 169.
- Chuang Shu 莊叔, minister of *Lu*, I, 367.
- Chuang Tse Yi 莊子義, a phantom, minister of Duke *Chien* of *Yen*, I, 382; II, 28.
- Chuang and Yü 莊嶽, two quarters in the capital of *Ch'i*, II, 160.
- Ch'uang-ling 春陵, city in *Honan*, I, 361.
- Chüeh-li 闕里, place where *Confucius* died, I, 335.
- Ch'un-ch'in 春秋, the "Spring and Autumn" Chronicle of *Confucius*, I, 263, 268; II, 24, 55, 58, 140; III, 9, 60, 62, 64, 66, 67, 69, 71, 74, 113.
- Ch'un-ch'in 春秋 epoch, 722-481 B.C., I, 316; III, 22.
- Ch'u Shên 春申, prince of, III, 110.
- Ch'u Shang 君上, personal name of the Emperor *Ch'eng Ti*, II, 87.
- Chung 種, a prefect, II, 91.
- Chung 重 = *Kou Mang*, Genius of Spring, III, 127.
- Chung-chou 中州 = *Honan*, I, 267.
- Chung Chüün 終軍, censor, II, 152.
- Chung Hang Chao Tse 中行昭子, minister of *Chin*, II, 7.
- Chung Hang Mi Tse 中行密子, father of *Chung Hang Yin*, III, 146.
- Chung Hang Yin 中行寅, a nobleman of *Chin*, III, 145.
- Chung-jen 仲任, style of *Wang Ch'ung*, I, 244.
- Chung Kung 仲弓, disciple of *Confucius*, I, 261.

Chung-mon 中牟, a city in Honan, III, 24.

Chung-shan 中山, territory in Cheli, II, 7.

Chung Tse 仲子, daughter of Duke Wu of Sung, had a writing on her palm, I, 275; II, 18, 76.

Chung Yung 仲雍, son of Tan Fu, I, 311.

Chung Erh 重耳, prince of Chin, II, 13, 85.

Chung Lan 充蘭, petty officer, I, 312, 360.

Chung Yü 充虞, a follower of Mencius, III, 32.

Confucianists 儒生, oppose the principle of spontaneity, I, 267, 282, believe in destiny, I, 316, regard Confucius as their master, III, 70.

Confucius 孔子, spoke of destiny, I, 247, as official had no aversions, I, 248, lost a horse, I, 249, eating a peach, I, 254, his works not read, I, 254, nobodymore, talented, I, 258, his hardships, eod., Confucius and Me Ti noble of themselves, but of low rank, I, 259, both Sages, I, 261, Confucius and Me Ti, I, 263; III, 77, 86, Confucius on poetry, I, 269, avoided all pomp, I, 270, on a carved mulberry-leaf, I, 276, on Yao and Shun, I, 278, his blissful forgetfulness, I, 280, his abilities in various arts, I, 282, afraid of Yang Hu, I, 287, his knowledge, I, 300, as wise as Confucius, I, 325, Confucius on life and death, I, 327, on Yen Hui's death, I, 331, on good fortune, I, 332, passing the city gate of Lu, eod., inferior to Shun, I, 335, seriously ill, I, 338, Confucius on a white calf, I, 339, Confucius and Po Niu, I, 345, Confucius did not become an emperor, I, 349, Confucius on divination,

I, 362, on Heaven's speaking, I, 364, on an omen, I, 368, burying his mother, I, 377, buried opposite to the Sse river, II, 4, on meteors, II, 55, 57, deeply impressed by a thunderstorm, II, 76, afraid of Yang Hu, II, 84, his arms turning backwards, II, 85, 141, prognosticated for T'an T'ai Tse Yü, II, 92, in Cheng, II, 92, naturally born, II, 103, playing the flute, II, 105, on dragons, II, 134, on Lao Tse being like a dragon, II, 139, a holy man, II, 146, resembling Yu Jo, II, 141, compared with Tse Kung, II, 142, and Shao Cheng Mao, II, 143, no unicorn appeared during his time, II, 146, unlike his father and his son, II, 148, his disciples, II, 156, on people above and below the average, II, 167, as a boy playing with sacrificial vessels, II, 168, the Nestor in wisdom and virtue, II, 168, Criticisms on Confucius, Chap. XXXIII, Confucius a Sage, III, 34, did not become an emperor, III, 40, on a sacrificial sheep, III, 43, on the three dynasties, III, 50, Confucius transmitted the Shuking, III, 56, 59, his school demolished, III, 57, composed the Ch'un-ch'u, III, 60, 61, Confucius on Rites, III, 64, Confucius and the Analects, III, 65, his house pierced, eod., ambiguity not to his mind, III, 67, a Tso-chuan found in his house, III, 71, Confucius did not speak of strange things, III, 72, his works finished by Tung Chung Shu, III, 75, Confucius on the music-master Chih, eod., wrote the Ch'un-ch'u, III, 77, on the Chou epoch, III, 83, on Yao, III, 86, on Chou's wickedness, III, 87, on Shun and Yu, III, 91, Confucius could drink a hundred gallons, III, 95, wandering about, III, 108, asking about Kung Shu Wen Tse, III, 109, on Kao Tse,

III, 110, *Confucius* and his dog, III, 131, on the sacrifice to Earth, III, 132, on destiny, III, 136, *Confucius* a sage, *eod.*

## E.

**Erh Shih Huang Ti** 二世皇帝, son of the emperor *Ch'in Shih Huang Ti*, I, 347, 399; III, 92.

## F.

**Fa** 發, personal name of *Wu Wang*, II, 19.

**Fa-yen** 法言, work of *Yang Hsiung*, III, 86.

**Fan** 范, a family name, II, 136.

**Fan** 樊, Lady, of *Ch'u*, I, 302.

**Fan** 洵, grandfather of *Wang Ch'ung*, I, 244.

**Fan Chih** 樊遲, disciple of *Confucius*, III, 3.

**Fan-ch'üan** 阪泉, place where *Yen Ti* was vanquished by *Huang Ti*, II, 159.

**Fan Hsüan Tse** 范宣子, officer of *Chin*, I, 386; II, 84.

**Fan Kuai** 樊噲, partisan of *Han Kao Tsu*, I, 358.

**Fan-kuei** 范魁, a place, II, 5.

**Fan Li** 范蠡, a minister of *Yüeh*, II, 91.

**Fan Shu** 范叔, attacked the *Tso-chuan*, III, 71.

**Fan Sui** 范睢, a native of *Wei*, almost beaten to death, I, 295, 327.

**Fan T'seng** 范增, counsellor of *Hsiang Yü*, I, 358.

**Fan Wen Tse** 范文子, minister of *Chin*, II, 7.

**Fang** 防, place in *Shantung*, I, 377.

**Fang-fēng** 防風, prince of a Goliath, III, 81, 95.

**Fei Lien** 豔廉, a minister of King *Chou*, III, 91.

**Fēn** 汾, river in *Shansi*, II, 11. **Fēn-yin** 汾陰, place in *Shansi*, III, 117.

**Fēng** 豊, place in *Kiangsu*, I, 316; III, 365; III, 139.

**Fēng** 灑水, river in *Shensi*, I, 260. **Fēng Po** 風伯, Wind God, III, 130.

**Fu** 甫, marquis of, minister of King *Mu*, III, 50.

**Fu Ching** 扶卿, disciple of *K'ung An Kuo*, III, 65.

**Fu Hon** 傳后, wife of the Emperor *Yuan Ti*, I, 398.

**Fu Hsi** 宏戲 or 伏羲, most ancient mythical emperor, I, 250, 267; III, 63, 82.

**Fu-hsing** 甫刑, chapter on Punishments in the *Shuking*, I, 294, 303.

**Fu-sang** 扶桑, region where the sun rises, II, 46, 52, a tree, II, 54.

**Fu Shéng** 伏生, preserved the *Shuking*, III, 56, 59.

**Fu-shih** 輔氏, place in *Shensi*, I, 391.

**Fu Su** 扶蘇, son of *Ch'in Shih Huang Ti*, I, 294.

**Fu Tse Chien** 宓子賤, philosopher, II, 165.

**Fu-yü** 夫餘, State in *Liaotung*, I, 355.

## G.

**Gemini** 東井, "Eastern Well", constellation reached by the sun in summer, II, 40.

**Gobi** 流沙, "Flying sand", western limit of the earth, II, 36, 37.

## H.

**Han** 漢 dynasty, 202 B.C.-220 A.D., I, 262, 264, 274, 275, 276, 304.

- 305, 327, 348, 398; II, 108, 127, 145, 163; III, 65, 68, 92.
- Han 漢** epoch, I, 268; II, 59; III, 71, 75, 86.
- Han 韓**, territory in *Shansi*, I, 263, 334, 384; II, 10.
- Han 漢**, affluent of the *Yangtse*, II, 136; III, 75.
- Han An Kuo 韓安國**, counsellor of *Han Wu Ti*, II, 90.
- Han Chüeh 韓厥**, official in *Chin*, I, 357.
- Han-chung 漢中**, in *Shensi*, III, 68.
- Han Fei Tse 韓非子**, Taoist philosopher, I, 252, the bulk of his work, I, 258, 263; assassinated by *Li Sse*, I, 350, disparages divination, I, 369, on dragons, II, 135, 146, on style, III, 23, Chap. XXXV; III, 77.
- Han Hsin 韓信**, helpmate of *Han Kao Tsu*, I, 328; II, 86.
- Han Hsüan Tse 韩宣子**, minister of *Chin*, I, 394.
- Han Kao Tsu 漢高祖**, founder of the *Han* dynasty, I, 313, 316, 357, 361; II, 14, 69 III, 46
- Han Man 汗漫**, genius, II, 120.
- Han Wu Ti** see *Wu Ti*, II, 124.
- Hao 鎬池**, lake near *Hsi-an-fu*, II, 12.
- Ho 和** of *Ching* = *Pien Ho*, III, 110.
- Ho Chü Ping 霍去病**, *Han* general, II, 145.
- Ho Kuang 霍光**, regent for *Han Chao Ti*, I, 296.
- Ho Lü 圖盧**, king of *Wu*, II, 161.
- Ho-nei 河內**, city in *Henan*, III, 57.
- Ho-pei 河北**, in *Shansi*, I, 361, 392.
- Ho-tung 河東**, a circuit in *Shansi*, I, 359; II, 121.
- Hou Chi 后稷**, Lord of Agriculture, I, 310, 354; II, 99, 103.
- Hou P'u Tse 侯鋪子**, adherent of *Han Fei Tse*, III, 78.
- Hou Tu 后土**, Lord of the Soil, III, 127.
- Hsi 僖**, duke of *Lu*, II, 28, 57.
- Hsi 煙** = *Hsüan Ming* 玄冥, God of Winter, III, 127.
- Hsi Ch'i Shu 西乞術**, officer of *Ch'in*, III, 109.
- Hsi Chung 奚仲**, inventor of chariots, I, 267, 270.
- Hsi-liu 細柳**, region where the sun sets, II, 46.
- Hsi Mén Pao 西門豹**, worthy of the 5th cent. B.C., I, 302; II, 162.
- Hsi Wang Mu 西王母**, a Taoist goddess, II, 111.
- Hsia 夏** dynasty, 2205-1766 B.C., I, 394; II, 11, 16, 99, 102, 116, 136; III, 63, 84, 98, 114, 125, 127.
- Hsia 夏**, family seat of *Yü* and the *Hsia* dynasty in *Henan*, III, 67.
- Hsia kuo 下國**, "lower capital" of *Chin*, I, 383.
- Hsia pei 下邳**, place in *Kiangsu*, II, 16.
- Hsia t'ai 夏臺**, place where *Ch'êng Tang* was confined, I, 322.
- Hsia Yü 夏育**, famous for his strength, III, 93.
- Hsiang 襄**, duke of *Ch'i*, I, 356; II, 26.
- Hsiang 襄**, duke of *Chin*, II, 4; III, 109.
- Hsiang 襄**, king of *Ch'u*, I, 293.
- Hsiang 襄**, viscount of *Chao*, I, 296, 297; II, 7, 89.
- Hsiang 襄** = *Chao Hsiang*, king of *Ch'in*, I, 346.
- Hsiang 象**, *Shun's* wicked brother, I, 353.
- Hsiang-an 襄安**, city in *Anhui*, III, 139.

- Hsiang Chuang 項莊, attempted to kill *Han Kao Tsu*, I, 358.
- Hsiang Man Tu 項曼都, a Taoist genius, II, 121.
- Hsiang Po 項伯, saved *Han Kao Tsu's* life, I, 358.
- Hsiang Yü 項羽, rival of *Han Kao Tsu*, I, 313, 317, 358; II, 86, 100, 105; III, 92, 134.
- Hsiao 孝, duke of *Ch'in*, I, 249.
- Hsiao Chang Ti 孝章帝, *Han* emperor, II, 153.
- Hsiao Ch'eng Ti 孝成帝 = *Ch'eng Ti*, *Han* emperor, I, 303; III, 57.
- Hsiao Ching Ti 孝景帝 = *Ching Ti*, *Han* emperor, III, 57.
- Hsiao Hui 孝惠, the emperor *Hui Ti*, son of *Kao Tsu* and *Lü Hou*, II, 86.
- Hsiao Hsüan Ti 孝宣帝, *Han* emperor, II, 140, 144, 148, 151; III, 57.
- Hsiao Ming Ti 孝明帝, *Han* emperor, II, 153; III, 88.
- Hsiao Wén Ti see *Wén Ti*, III, 15, 117.
- Hsiao Wu = *Hsiao Wu Ti*, I, 303.
- Hsiao Wu Ti 孝武帝 = *Wu Ti*, *Han* emperor, I, 264; II, 118, 151; III, 71.
- Hsieh 契, minister of *Shun*, I, 325; II, 99, 103; III, 73, 90, 125, 131.
- Hsieh 薛, small principality in *Shantung*, III, 28.
- Hsien 獻, duke of *Chin*, II, 4.
- Hsien 獻, viscount of *Wei*, II, 135.
- Hsien = *Yuan Sse* 憲, disciple of *Confucius*, noted for his love of poverty, I, 259.
- Hsien-ming 咸銘, work of *Yuan Wén Shu*, III, 78.
- Hsien-yang 咸陽, city near *Hsan-fu*, III, 58, 99.
- Hsin-fēng 新豐, a place in *Shensi*, II, 145.
- Hsin-hsü 新序, New Introduction, work of *Liu Hsiang*, I, 266.
- Hsin Ling 信陵, prince of, II, 145; III, 110.
- Hsin-lun 新論, New Reflections, work of *Huan Chun Shan*, I, 267; III, 77.
- Hsin-tu 新都, territory in *Henan*, III, 68.
- Hsin-yü 新語, New Words, work of *Lu Chia*, III, 74.
- Hsin Yuan P'ing 新垣平, on the *Chou* tripods, III, 117.
- Hsin 修, God of Winter, III, 127.
- Hsiung Ch'ü Tse 熊渠子, a remarkable bow-man, III, 106.
- Hsiung-nu 匈奴, Turkish tribes, I, 304, 348, 354; II, 44, 90.
- Hsü 徐, small State in *Hupei*, III, 47.
- Hsü 徐, State in *Anhui*, I, 333; III, 132.
- Hsü 徐, one of the Nine Provinces, in *Shantung*, and its aborigines, III, 103.
- Hsü Chia 須賈, an officer of *Wei*, I, 295.
- Hsü Fu 許負, a fortune-teller, I, 311; II, 89.
- Hsü Shu 許叔, famous for his magnanimity, III, 85.
- Hsü Yu 許由, hermit, I, 269; III, 48.
- Hsü Yüeh 徐樂, a scholar, I, 327.
- Hsüan 宣, king of *Chu*, I, 382; II, 29, 80.
- Hsüan Ming 兮冥, God of Winter, III, 127.
- Hsüan Ti 宣帝, emperor = *Hsiao Hsüan Ti*, II, 87, 144, 151; III, 59, 65, 88.

- Hsüan-yuan 軒轅, a constellation, II, 72.
- Hsün Tse 荀子 = Sun Ch'ing, I, 263.
- Hsün Yen 荀偃, officer of Chin, I, 386.
- Hu 胡, aboriginal tribes in the North, I, 349; II, 7; III, 145.
- Hu Hui 胡亥 = Erh Shih Huang Ti, II, 100.
- Hu Mu 胡母, commentator of the *Ch'un ch'u*, III, 71.
- Hu Tu 狐突, officer of Chin, I, 383.
- Hua 滑, a mountain, I, 392.
- Hua Shih 華士, scholar of *Chi*, III, 45, 47.
- Hua-yang 華陽, princess of, I, 302.
- Hua-yin 華陰, place in *Shensi*, II, 12.
- Hua Yuan 華元, general of *Sung*, I, 339.
- Huai 淮, river in *Honan* and *Anhui*, II, 133.
- Huai 淮, aboriginal tribes, III, 103.
- Huai 懷, king of *Ch'u*, I, 293.
- Huai-nan 淮南, princedom in *Anhui*, I, 396; II, 34, 116, 124.
- Huai Nan Tse 淮南子, prince of *Huai-nan* famous Taoist philosopher, I, 255, 269, on fate, I, 328; II, 52, 118.
- Huai-yang 淮陽, a State in *Honan*, I, 274, 398.
- Huan 桓, duke of *Chi*, I, 273, 326, 352, 356; II, 125; III, 90.
- Huan 桓, duke of *Ch'in*, I, 391.
- Huan 桓, duke of *Lu*, III, 66.
- Huan Kuan 桓寬, writer of the 1st cent. n.c., III, 77.
- Huan Lung 参龍, a dragon-keeper under *Shun*, II, 135.
- Huan Tan 桓譚 = *Huan Chün* *Shan* 桓君山, a scholar, I, 261, 264, 267; II, 142; III, 76.
- Huang Shih 黃石公, Mr. Yellow Stone, I, 275; II, 149.
- Huang Ti 黃帝, legendary emperor, I, 262, *Huang Ti* and *Lao Tse*, I, 266, both inactive, I, 278, 282, the school of *Huang Ti* and *Lao Tse* arguing on spontaneity, I, 300, 321, 353; II, 2, 24, 85, 103, 105, 113, 124, 133, 140, 159; III, 73, 120, 125, 131.
- Huang T'se Kung 黃次公, a minister of *Han Hsüan Ti*, II, 88.
- Hui 惠, duke of *Ch'in*, I, 383; II, 29.
- Hui 惠, duke of *Lu*, II, 18, 76.
- Hui 惠, king of *Ch'u*, I, 336.
- Hui 惠, king of *Liang* = *Wei*, III, 27.
- Hui Ti 惠帝, *Han* emperor, II, 71.
- Hung-fan 洪範, Flood Regulation, chapter of the *Shuking*, I, 308, 369; II, 27, 63; III, 61, 63.
- Hung Ju 閻孺, a minion, I, 333.
- Hung-ning 弘農, city in *Honan*, I, 315.
- Hung Yen 弘演, a loyal official of Duke *I* of *Wei*, III, 84, 105.
- Huo-tai 霍太, mountain in *Shansi*, II, 10..
- Hyades 畢, when the moon approaches them, it rains, II, 58.

## I.

- I 夷, eastern barbarians, III, 103.  
I-king see *Yiking*.
- I Kuan 倪寬, a secretary of State, II, 90.
- I Ti 夷狄, barbarian tribes, II, 57.
- I Wu 夷吾, prince of *Ch'in*, I, 383.
- I-yang 宜陽, city in *Honan-fu*, I, 359.

## J.

Jan Yu 冉有, disciple of *Confucius*, III, 22.

Japanese 倭人, III, 114.

Lo 羅, river, I, 23; III, 143.

Ju-nan 汝南, place in *Henan*, I, 267.

Jupiter 歲星, star, I, 298; III, 129.

Ju Shou 尊收, Genius of Autumn, III, 127.

Ju Yi 如意, son of *Han Kao Tsu*, poisoned by *Lü Hou*, I, 396.

Jung 戎, western barbarians, I, 7; III, 103.

## K.

Kai 該 = *Ju Shou*, Genius of Autumn, III, 127.

Kan-chiang 千將, a famous sword, III, 113.

Kan-ch'uan 甘泉, palace near *Chang-an*, I, 304.

K'ang 康, king of *Chou*, I, 97; III, 89, 103.

K'ang 康, king of *Ch'u*, I, 356.

K'ang Shu 康叔, brother of *Chou Kung*, I, 301, 314; III, 98.

K'ang Tse 康子 = *Chi K'ang*, head of the *Chi* family in *Zu*, III, 12.

Kao Huang Ti 高皇帝 = *Kao Tsu*, I, 396.

Kao Tse 告子, philosopher, opponent of *Mencius*, I, 167.

Kao Tse Kao 高子羔, disciple of *Confucius*, III, 110.

Kao Tsu 高祖 = *Han Kao Tsu*, I, 263, 297, 312, 317, 328, 358, 365, 397; I, 14, 86, 100; III, 92, 128, 139.

Kao Tsung 高宗, *Shang* emperor, I, 98, 109; III, 111.

Kao Yao 皐陶, minister of *Shun*, I, 249; I, 85, 93, 141; III, 2, 69.

Kiang-nan 江南, south of the *Yangtse*, II, 79, 82.

Kiaug-pei 江北, north of the *Yangtse*, II, 82.

Ko 蔡, prince of *Chi*, III, 37.

Kou Chien 勾踐, king of *Yüeh*, II, 161.

Kou Lung 勾龍 = *Hou Tu*, Lord of the Soil, III, 127.

Kou Maung 勾芒, Genius of Spring, III, 127.

Ku-ch'eng 穀城, mountain in *Shantung*, II, 15.

Ku-fen 姑棼, place in *Shantung*, I, 26.

Ku Liang 穀梁, commentator of the *Ch'un ch'u*, III, 62.

Ku Liang Chih 穀梁寘 = *Ku Liang*, III, 71.

Ku Pn Tse Ch'ing 姑布子卿 (high officer in *Chou*), physiognomist, I, 311; II, 7, 88.

Ku Sou 肅瞍, the unfeeling father of great *Shun*, I, 353; II, 148.

Ku Tse Yün 谷子雲 = *Ku Yung*, I, 306.

Ku Yung 谷永, essayist, I, 268; III, 78.

K'u 帽 = *Ti K'u* 帝帽, II, 105.

Kuan-chin 觀津, place in *Henan*, I, 359.

Kuan-chü 關雎, first Ode of the *Shiking*, III, 26.

Kuan Chung 管仲, famous minister of Duke *Huan* of *Chi*, I, 273, 313, 326, 356; III, 72, 90.

Kuan Fu 灌夫, general of the 2nd cent. B.C., I, 304, 397; II, 22, 30.

Kuan Kao 貫高, minister of *Chou*, attempted to murder *Han Kao Tsu*, I, 297.

Kuan Shu Hsien 管叔鮮, brother of *Chou Kung*, I, 305.

- Kuan Tse 管子 = *Kuang Chung*, I, 253.
- Kuang Chih Kuei 匡稚圭, a savant, I, 327.
- Kuang-han 廣漢, region in *Szechuan*, I, 360.
- Kuang Kuo 廣國, younger brother of the empress-dowager *Tou*, I, 359.
- Kuang-ling 廣陵, place in *Kiangsu*, III, 78.
- Kuang Wen Po 廣文伯, official, I, 359.
- Kuang Wu Ti 光武帝, *Han* emperor, I, 270, 312, 315, 360, 361, 392; II, 104, 146; III, 71, 89.
- K'uang 曠, music-master, I, 255; II, 1, 18.
- Kuang Chang Tse 匡章子, high officer of the *Ch'i* State, III, 36.
- Kuang Chüeh 狂譎, scholar of *Ch'i*, III, 45, 47.
- Kuei-chi 歸忌, unlucky day, III, 140.
- Kuei-tsang 歸藏, name of a *Yiking*, III, 63.
- K'uei-chi 會稽, circuit and city in *Chekiang*, I, 244; II, 36, 71, 116; III, 78, 85.
- Kun 鯀, father of great *Yü*, I, 261, 394; II, 105, 107, 148, 159; III, 125, 131.
- K'un-lun 崑崙, mountain in *Turkestan*, the gate of Heaven, II, 35, 118.
- K'un Mo 昆莫, king of the *Wusun*, I, 354.
- K'un-yang 昆陽, city in *Honan*, III, 94.
- Kung 共, king of *Ch'u* and his five sons, I, 356.
- Kung 共, prince of *Lu*, III, 57, 71.
- Kung Kung 共工, legendary being, I, 269; II, 31; III, 127.
- Kung Ming Chia 公明賈, III, 109.
- Kung Sun Chih 公孫支, officer of *Ch'in*, II, 4.
- Kung Sun Ch'ou 公孫丑, disciple of *Mencius*, III, 30.
- Kung Sun Lung 公孫龍, sophist, III, 72.
- Kung Sun Ni Tse 公孫尼子, philosopher, disciple of *Confucius*, II, 165, 171.
- Kung Sun Tuan 公孫段, officer of *Ch'eng*, I, 389; II, 29.
- Kung Shan Fu Jao 公山弗擾, a noble of *Lu*, III, 26.
- Kung Shu W'en Tse 公叔文子, officer of *Wu*, III, 109.
- Kung Wang 共王, *Chou* emperor, I, 399.
- Kung Yang 公羊, commentator of the *Ch'un chiu*, II, 55; III, 67, 74.
- Kung Yang Kao 公羊高 = *Kung Yang*, III, 71.
- Kung Yeh Ch'ang 公冶長, son-in-law of *Confucius*, III, 6.
- Kung An Kuo 孔安國, grandson of *Confucius*, III, 65.
- Kung Chia 孔甲, emperor of the *Hsia* dynasty, II, 136; III, 41.
- K'ung-tung 空同, mountain and aborigines in *Kansu*, II, 7.
- Kuo-yü 國語, work of *Tso Ch'u Ming*, III, 72.

## L.

- Lang-ye 琅邪, south coast of *Shantung*, II, 12; III, 85, 116.
- Lao 宓 = *Ch'in Chang*, disciple of *Confucius*, I, 282.
- Lao and Chi'eng 勞成, mountains of the *Shantung* coast, II, 12.
- Lao Tse 老子, founder of Taoism, obtained long life through the spon-

- taneous fluid, I, 273, *Lao Tse* and *Wén Tse* like Heaven and Earth, I, 280, lived over 200 years, II, 98, his theory to prolong life by quietism and dispassionateness, II, 127, *Lao Tse* a dragon, II, 139.
- Lei Kung 雷公, Thunderer, III, 130.
- Li 禮 = *Ta-tai-shi*, 大戴禮, Ritual of the Senior *Tai*, I, 321.
- Li 鯉, son of *Confucius*, III, 20.
- Li 厲, king of *Chou*, III, 136.
- Li 厲, duke of *Ch'eng*, II, 16.
- Li 厲, king of *Ch'u*, I, 293.
- Li 犇, marquis of, I, 391.
- Li 烈 = *Chu yuag* 祝融, God of Fire, III, 127.
- Li 驪, mountain, see *Li-shan*, II, 14.
- Li Chi 驪姬, wife of Duke *Hsien* of *Chin*, I, 384.
- Li Fu 李父, companion of *Han Yuan Ti*, I, 360.
- Liki 禮記, Book of Rites, I, 321; II, 23, 74, 76, 106, 111, 150; III, 57, 59, 64, 71, 122, 125, 128, 129, 132.
- Li Kuang 李廣, general of *Han Kao Tsu*, I, 348; III, 106.
- Li Ling 李陵, general of *Han Kao Tsu*, I, 348.
- Li-sao 離騷, poem of *Ch'u Yuan*, I, 293; III, 79.
- Li Sse 李斯, prime minister of *Ch'in Shih Huang Ti*, I, 294, 350, torn to pieces by carts, I, 351, 384, caused the Burning of the Books, III, 56, 58, 78, 100, 101.
- Li-shan 歷山, mountain, I, 248.
- Li-shan 驪山, mountain in *Shensi*, I, 399; II, 14.
- Li Shao Chün 李少君, Taoist magician, II, 124.
- Li Tui 李兌, I, 249.
- Li-yang 歷陽, city in *Anhui*, I, 316, 322, 356; III, 139.
- Liang 梁山, mountain in *Shensi*, III, 104.
- Liang 梁 = *K'ai-feng-fu*, capital of the *Wei* State, III, 27.
- Liao 魏, State, II, 136.
- Liao-tung 遼東, in *Manchuria*, I, 347.
- Lieh Shan 烈山 = *Shen Nung*, III, 63, 127.
- Lieu-shan 連山, name of a *Yiking*, III, 63.
- Lin Hu 林胡, barbarians, II, 11.
- Lin-huai 臨淮, place in *Anhui*, III, 78, 85.
- Lin-tao 臨洮, city in *Kansu*, I, 347.
- Ling 靈, king of *Ch'u*, I, 356.
- Ling 靈, duke of *Wei*, II, 1; III, 12.
- Ling 靈星, constellation, III, 129.
- Lin 劉, duke, ancestor of the *Chou* dynasty, I, 310.
- Lin 劉媼, mother of *Kao Tsu*, I, 312, 357; II, 69, 100.
- Lin 留, marquis of, = *Chang Liang*, II, 16.
- Lin An 劉安, prince of, = *Huai Nan Tse*, I, 396; II, 34, 118.
- Lin Chang 劉長, father of *Liu An*, II, 118.
- Lin Ch'un 劉春, a Taoist, II, 71.
- Lin Hsia Hui 柳下惠, famous for his purity of mind, II, 156; III, 44.
- Liu Kun 劉琨, native of *Honor*, 1st cent. B.C., I, 315.
- Liu Lei 劉累, a dragon-rearer under the emperor *K'ung Chia*, II, 136.

- Liu Tse Chêng 劉子政 = *Liu Hsiang*, famous author, I, 266, 270; II, 169; III, 71, 78.
- Lo 洛, tributary of the Yellow River, I, 275; II, 76, 163; III, 63.
- Lo-kuo 裸國, Naked People, visited by Yü, III, 16.
- Lo-yang 洛陽, city on the *Lo* in *Honan*, I, 399; II, 10, centre of China, II, 37, 163.
- Lu 魯, State in *Shantung*, the country of *Confucius*, I, 254, 268, 275, 297, 332, 333, 367, 368, 373; II, 8, 18, 28, 57, 61, 76, 86, 103, 107, 140, 141, 143, 148, 150; III, 4, 31, 51, 57, 60, 65, 71, 108.
- Lu Ao 盧敖, traveller, II, 119.
- Lu Chia 陸賈, envoy from the *Han* to *Chao To*, king of *Yüeh*, I, 264, 304; II, 164, author, II, 169; III, 74.
- Lu-chiang 嘬江, crenit in *Anhui*, I, 261.
- Lu Chin Hsin 魯邱訢, killed two water-dragons, II, 133.
- Lu-hsien 魯縣, city, II, 136.
- Lu Pan 魯般, famous mechanician of *Lu*, III, 107.
- Lu-yang 魯陽, city in *Honan*, I, 269.
- Luan 漢水, river, I, 392.
- Luan Huai Tse 漢懷子, officer of *Chin*, I, 386; II, 83.
- Lun-hêng 論衡, the Disquisitions. *Wang Ch'ung's* principal work, I, 250, 251, 255, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 270, 271.
- Lun-yü 論語, the *Analects of Confucius*, III, 66.
- Lung-eh-nan 龍泉, place in *Ch'kiang*, II, 158.
- Lung-hsi 龍西, district in *Kansu*, I, 349.
- Lung-yan 龍淵, famous sword, III, 112.
- Lü 吕, father of the Empress *Lü Hou*, II, 86.
- Lü Hou 呂后, wife of *Han Kao Tsu*, I, 328, 358, 396; II, 29, 71, 86; III, 46, 92.
- Lü Shang 呂尚, surname of *T'ai Kung*, II, 19.
- Lü Shih 吕氏 = *Lü Pu Wei*, I, 255.
- Lü-shih-ch'un-ch'iu 吕氏春秋, work of *Lü Pu Wei*, III, 72.
- M.**
- Man Ch'ien 曼倩, style of *Tung Fang So*, II, 127.
- Mang and Tang 楚陽, mountains. *Han Kao Tsu's* hiding place in *Han* and *Kiangsu*, I, 358.
- Mars 火惑 or 火星, I, 307; II, 11, 27, 82, 109.
- Mè Ti 墨翟, the philosopher of mutual love, III, 70.
- Mè Tse 墨子 = *Mè Ti*, I, 254, 263, 265; II, 155; III, 70, his mechanical skill, III, 107.
- Mèhists 墨家, followers of *Mè Ti*, I, 316, 342, neglect the burials, but honour the ghosts, III, 70.
- Mencius 孟子, spoke of Heaven, I, 247, knew an intelligent man by the sparkling of his eyes, I, 253, 263, no controversialist, I, 265, on destiny, I, 319, and duke *P'ing* of *Lu*, I, 327, his mother changed her domicile, II, 163, on the goodness of human nature, II, 165, judged men by the pupils of their eyes, II, 166, Censures on *Mencius*, Chap. XXXIV, on the *Ch'un ch'iu*, III, 66, on the defeat of the *Yin* dynasty, III, 94.
- Meng 蒙, uncle of *Wang Ch'ung*, I, 244.

- Méng 孟, noble family in *Lu*, I, 254; III, 4.
- Méng Ao 蒙鷁, grandfather of *Méng T'ien*, I, 294.
- Méng Chang 孟章, an unselfish official, III, 85.
- Méng Ch'ang 孟嘗, prince of, I, 341; II, 145; III, 110.
- Méng I Tse 孟懿子, scion of the *Méng* family in *Lu*, III, 3.
- Meng Ming Shih 孟明視, officer in *Ch'in*, III, 109.
- Méng Pén 孟貢, famous for his strength, I, 379; II, 161; III, 46, 93, 113.
- Méng Sun 孟孫 = *Meng I Tse*, III, 3.
- Méng Tien 蒙恬, general of *Ch'in*, builder of the Great Wall, I, 294, 347.
- Méng Wu Po 孟武伯, scion of the *Méng* family in *Lu*, III, 3.
- Méng Yao 孟姚, wife of King *Ling* of *Chao*, II, 5, 7.
- Mercury 鉤星 = Hook Star, foreboding an earth-quake, I, 292, 298.
- Miao 三苗, the 3 *Miao* tribes civilized by *Yao* and *Shun*, II, 160.
- Min 閔, disciple of *Confucius* = *Min Tse Ch'ien* 閔子騫, III, 1.
- Ming 箕, descendant of *Hsieh*, III, 125, 131.
- Ming 明星, star, III, 129.
- Ming Ti 明帝 = *Hsiao Ming Ti*, III, 88.
- Mongolia 蒙穀, II, 119.
- Mongols 胡, III, 122.
- Mo-ya 莫邪, famous sword, III, 113.
- Mon 牟, principedom in *Shantung*, III, 109.
- Mountain Book 山經, part of the *Shan-hai-king*, II, 35.
- Mu 繆, king of *Chou*, I, 303; II, 98; III, 50.
- Mu 繆 or 穆, duke of *Ch'in*, I, 302, 342, 384; II, 4, 109; III, 109, 111.
- Mu 繆, duke of *Lu*, III, 51.
- Mu 穆, duke of *Chêng*, I, 389.
- Mu 牧, plain in *Honan*, where the troops of the *Yin* dynasty were defeated, III, 93.
- Mu Mu 媚母, ugly wife of *Huang Ti*, III, 82.
- Mu Shu 穆叔, of *Lu*, son of *Chuang Shu*, I, 367.
- N.**
- Nan 褒, last sovereign of the *Chou* dynasty, II, 99; III, 115.
- Nan Kuang Ta Yu 南宮大有, diviner, II, 87.
- Nan Tse 南子, wife of Duke *Ling* of *Wei*, invited *Confucius*, III, 12.
- Nan Yung 南容, disciple of *Confucius*, married to his niece, III, 6.
- Ni Kuan 倪寬, received the *Shu-king*, 2nd cent. B.C., III, 57.
- Ning Chi 寧戚, official, 7th cent. B.C., I, 352.
- Niu Ai 牛哀, duke of *Lu*, changed into a tiger, I, 373, 395; II, 103, 107.
- Niu Chüeh 牛缺, I, 333.
- Nü Wa 女媧, sister of *Fu Hsi*, II, 31.
- O.**
- O Lai 惡來, minister of King *Chou*, III, 91.
- P.**
- Pa 巴, concubine of King *Kung* of *Ch'u*, I, 356.
- Pa Ch'u 霸出, a giant, III, 82.

- Pa-kung-chuan 八公之傳,  
"Memoir of the Eight Companions"  
of *Huai Nan Tse*, II, 119.
- Pai-hai 碑海, Minor Seas, II, 34.
- Pan Ku 班固, historian, III, 78.
- Pan Shu P'i 班叔皮 = *Pan Piao*,  
father of *Pan Ku*, I, 266.
- P'ang Hsien 龐擣, III, 51.
- Pao 褒, princes of the *Hsia* epoch,  
II, 11.
- Pao 鮑, duke of *Sung*, III, 121.
- Pao Sse 褒姒, empress, her super-  
natural birth, II, 102, 150.
- Pao Shu Ya 鮑叔牙, bosom  
friend of *Kuan Chung*, I, 313, 356.
- Pei-ch'in 貝丘, place in *Shantung*,  
II, 26.
- P'ei 沛, ancient State in *Anhui*, II,  
147.
- P'ei 沛, prefecture in *Kiangsu*, I, 316,  
365; II, 17; III, 139.
- P'êng-ch'êng 彭城, city in *Kiang-  
su*, III, 116.
- P'êng Kêng 彭更, disciple of  
*Mencius* III, 29, 35.
- P'êng Shêng 彭生, prince of *Ch'i*,  
II, 26.
- P'êng Tsu 彭祖, the Chinese  
*Methusaleh*, II, 129; III, 82.
- P'êng Yüeh 彭越, king of *Liang*,  
was pickled, I, 398.
- Pi 費, city in *Shantung*, III, 16, 26,  
58, 109.
- Pi-fang 畢方, fabulous bird, II, 3.
- Pi Hsi 佛肸, high officer in *Chin*,  
III, 24, 26.
- Pi Kan 比干, killed by the tyrant  
*Chou*, I, 382, 390; III, 40, 94.
- Pien Chi'o 扁鵲, celebrated phy-  
sician, I, 328; II, 4.
- Pien Ho 卞和, of *Ch'u* and the  
jade stone, I, 254, 269, 293.
- Pin 邗, city in *Shensi*, I, 310.
- P'ing 平, duke of *Chin*, II, 1, 18.
- P'ing 平, duke of *Lu*, I, 327; III,  
31.
- P'ing Yuan 平原, prince of, III,  
110.
- P'ing-yuan 平原, place in *Shan-  
tung*, II, 13.
- P'ing Ti 平帝, *Han* emperor, III,  
94.
- Pleiades 昴, *see Venus*, I, 297.
- Po Ch'i 白起, famous general of  
*Ch'in*, I, 316, 346.
- Po Ch'in 伯禽, son of the Duke  
of *Chou*, I, 301.
- Po-ch'in 柏寝, hall of Duke *Huan*  
of *Ch'i*, II, 125.
- Po-jen 柏人, place in *Chili*, I, 217.
- Po Kuei 白圭, a rich man, I, 327.
- Po Li Hsi 百里奚, an official  
of *Ch'in*, III, 111.
- Po Lo 伯樂, famous horse trainer,  
II, 20.
- Po Niu 伯牛, disciple of *Confucius*,  
his sickness, I, 261, 320, 331, 345,  
III, 11, 40.
- Po Yi 伯翳, ancestor of the *Ch'in*  
dynasty, II, 100.
- Po Yi 伯夷, famous for his integ-  
rity, I, 259, 348; II, 156; III, 37,  
44, 48.
- Po Yi and Shu Ch'i 伯夷叔齊,  
II, 145.
- Po Yi Ping 白乙丙, officer of  
*Ch'in*, III, 109.
- Po Yu 伯有, minister of *Chêng*,  
I, 388; II, 29.
- Po Yü 伯魚, son of *Confucius*, II,  
148.
- Po Yü 伯余, inventor of clothes,  
I, 270.
- Pu 濩, river in *Shantung*, II, 1, 29.

- Pu Chan 不占, an officer of *Ch'i*, III, 84.
- Pu-chou 不周, mountain in the *K'un-lun*, I, 269; II, 31.
- P'u-fan 蒲坂, the modern *P'u-chou-fu* in *Shansi*, I, 359; II, 121.
- S.**
- Sha-ch'in 沙丘, place in *Chili*, II, 13.
- Shan-fu 單父, place in *Shantung*, II, 86.
- Shan-hai-king 山海經, ancient geographical work, II, 24, 52, 134.
- Shan Yü 單子, title of the chieftain of the *Hsiung-nu*, I, 354.
- Shang 商, dynasty, 1766–1122 n.c., III, 128.
- Shang 商 = *Pu Shang*, name of *Tse Hsia*, I, 344.
- Shang Ch'en 商臣, son of King *Ch'eng* of *Ch'u*, I, 387.
- Shang Chün 商均, son of *Shun*, I, 321; II, 148, 166.
- Shang-lin 上林, imperial park, II, 140, 144.
- Shang Ti 上帝, God, III, 125.
- Shang Tse 商子, minister of *Wu Wang*, I, 301.
- Shang Yang 商鞅 = *Wei Yang*, prince of *Shang*, I, 249, 279, 351; III, 72.
- Shang-yang 商羊, one-legged bird, portending rain, I, 289.
- Shang-yü-hsien 上虞, city in *Chekiang*, I, 244.
- Shao 邵, duke of, brother of *Wu Wang*, II, 97, 155.
- Shao Cheng Mao 少正卯, scholar in *Lu*, II, 143.
- Shao Hao 少昊, legendary emperor, III, 127.
- Shé Chi 地祇, Spirits of the Land and Grain, III, 126.
- Shén-chou 神州, China, II, 34.
- Shén Shēng 申生, prince of *Chin*, I, 383; II, 28.
- Shén Shu and Yü Lü 神荼鬱壘, the door gods, who frighten the ghosts away, II, 24.
- Shén Tse �慎子, Taoist philosopher, II, 134.
- Shén T'ung 沈同, officer of *Ch'i*, III, 29.
- Shéng 勝, marquis of *Chiang*, II, 89.
- Shéng-mu 勝母, a village, II, 116.
- Shih Ch'i Tse 石祁子, son of *Shih T'ai*, I, 366.
- Shiking 詩經, Book of Odes, I, 308, 314; II, 58, 84, 99, 150, 155, 168; III, 18, 58, 60, 99, 105.
- Shih T'ai 石駘, nobleman of *Wei*, I, 366.
- Shih Tse 世子 = Shih Shé 世碩, Confucian philosopher, on human nature, II, 165, 171.
- Shih Tse 時子, officer of *Ch'i*, III, 28.
- Shih Tse Yü 史子魚, officer of *Wei*, I, 246.
- Shih Wei 家韋, a noble under the *Shang* dynasty, II, 136.
- Shih-yi 施夷, a terrace, II, 1.
- Shou 首, mountain in *Shansi*, whose copper was exploited by *Huang Ti*, II, 113.
- Shou-yang 首陽, mountain in *Shensi*, II, 145; III, 39.
- Shu 叔姬, Lady *Shu* of *Chin*, II, 166.
- Shu 蜀, kingdom in *Szechuan*, II, 118.
- Shu 舒, State in *Anhui*, I, 250.
- Shu An 叔安, II, 136.

- S**hu Hsiang 叔向, officer in *Chin*, II, 83, 132.  
**S**hu Hu 叔虎, half-brother of *Shu Hsiang*, II, 83.  
**S**huking 尚書, Canon of History, I, 245, 314; II, 27, 35, 58, 64, 69, 144; III, 13, 27, 56, 62, 64, 66, 67, 68, 90, 99, 105, 113, 125, 135.  
**S**hu Liang Ho 叔梁紇, father of *Confucius*, II, 148.  
**S**hu Sun Mu Tse 叔孫穆子, nobleman of *Lu*, II, 8.  
**S**hu Sun T'ung 叔孫通, high official of *Han Kao Tsu*, II, 161.  
**S**hu Sung 叔宋, II, 136.  
**S**hun 爰, ancient emperor, I, 248, 257, 261, 303, 308, 335, 352, 353; II, 5, 85, 96, 103, 105, 136, 141, 148, 159, 166; III, 2, 13, 18, 29, 33, 67, 68, 76, 87, 90, 125, 131.  
**S**hun Yü Yüeh 淳于越, officer of *Ch'in*, III, 58, 100.  
**S**ou 老 = *Ku Sou*, *Shun's* father, I, 261.  
**S**se 姝, family name of the *Hsia* dynasty, II, 99, 103.  
**S**se 沢, river in *Shantung*, I, 275, 344, 392; II, 4, 16, 86; III, 117.  
**S**se Ma Ch'ien 司馬遷, author of the *Shi-chi*, I, 295; III, 75.  
**S**se Ma Hsiang Ju 司馬相如, scholar and poet of the *Han* period, I, 303.  
**S**se-shang 沢上, place in *Shantung*, II, 14.  
**S**se Tai 驅帶, officer of *Cheng*, I, 388; II, 29.  
**S**u Ch'in 蘇秦, statesman of the 4th cent. B.C., I, 249; II, 85; III, 73.  
**S**u Po A 蘇伯阿, could tell the future from the currents of wind, I, 361.  
**S**u Wn 蘇武, went as envoy to the *Hsiung-nu*, I, 304.  
**S**u Yung 蘇永, a soldier, I, 312, 360.  
**S
**S**ui-p'o 歲破, an unlucky day, III, 140.  
**S**un Ch'ing 孫卿, philosopher of the 3rd cent. B.C., II, 168.  
**S**un Shu Ao 孫叔敖, minister of *Ch'u*, I, 340.  
**S**un Yi 孫一, ancestor of *Wang Ch'ung*, I, 244.  
**S**ung 詩, father of *Wang Ch'ung*, I, 244.  
**S**ung 宋, State, the north-western corner of *Kiangsu* Province, I, 275, 276, 277, 298, 317, 339, 393; II, 20, 29, 52, 57, 76, 77, 122, 146; III, 10, 28, 49, 82, 108, 116, 121.**

**T.**

- T**a-chuan 大傳, ancient work, II, 144.  
**T**a-liang 大梁 = *K'ai-feng-fu*, II, 92.  
**T**ai 戴, brother of *Ch'en Chung Tse*, III, 37.  
**T**ai 代, king of, the later emperor *Han Wen Ti*, I, 328.  
**T**ai 代, aboriginal State north of *Shansi*, II, 6.  
**T**'ai 邶, city in *Shensi*, I, 310.  
**T**'ai-shan 太山, sacred mountain in *Shantung*, I, 393; II, 43, 55, 58, 115, 148; III, 4.  
**T**'ai-shan 太山, mountain in the West, II, 3.  
**T**'ai-a 太阿, famous sword, II, 158.  
**T**'ai Chia 太甲, *Shang* emperor, I, 393.  
**T**'ai-ch'iu 太邱, place in *Honan*, III, 116.

- T'ai-hsüan-ching 太玄經, metaphysical work of *Yang Hsiung*, I, 268; III, 78, 86.
- T'ai Kung 太公, helpmate of *Wén Wang*, I, 275, 352, 367, 370; II, 17, 19; III, 45, 48, 93.
- T'ai Kung 太公, father of *Kao Tsu*, II, 100.
- T'ai Kung Wang 太公王 = *T'ai Kung*, the minister of *Wén Wang*, I, 258, 261.
- T'ai Po 太伯, son of *Tan Fu*, I, 300, 304, 308, 311; II, 81.
- T'ai Wang 太王, grandfather of *Wén Wang*, I, 385.
- T'ai-wei 太微, constellation, II, 72.
- Tan 旦, personal name of the Duke of *Chou*, I, 385.
- Tan 丹, prince of *Yen*, I, 269, 295, 296; III, 101.
- Tan Chiao 丹教, a boy, III, 93.
- Tan Chu 丹朱, son of *Yao*, I, 303, 321; II, 148, 161, 166; III, 13, 88.
- Tan Fu 直父, grandfather of *Wén Wang*, I, 300, 310.
- Tan-shui 丹水, place in *Honan*, III, 103.
- Tan-yang 丹陽, circuit in *Kiangsu* and *Anhui*, I, 261.
- T'an T'ai Tse Yü 潛臺子羽, disciple of *Confucius*, II, 92.
- T'ang 唐, *Yao's* territory, I, 353; II, 169; III, 48, 67.
- T'ang 湯, founder of the *Shang* dynasty, I, 262, 393; II, 85; III, 33, 67, 87, 125, 131.
- T'ang-chi 桃溪, place in *Honan*, II, 82, 158.
- T'ang Chü 唐舉, physiognomist, II, 92.
- T'ang-ku 湯谷, Hot Water Abyss, whence the sun rises, II, 52, seq., II, 57.
- T'ang Lin 唐林, memorialist, I, 268; III, 78.
- T'ang Shu Yü 唐叔虞, son of *Wu Wang*, I, 275; II, 18.
- T'ang Yang 唐鞅, officer in *Sung*, II, 77.
- T'ao Chu 陶朱, name assumed by *Fan Li*, minister of *Yüeh*, I, 325.
- T'ao T'ang 陶唐, family seat and clan of the emperor *Yao*, II, 136.
- T'ao-wu 橋杌, history of the *Ch'u* State, I, 268; III, 66.
- T'êng 膝, duke of, II, 86.
- Têng T'ung 鄧通, favourite of the emperor *Han Wén Ti*, II, 90.
- Ti 翟, northern barbarians, I, 391, II, 5, 7.
- Ti 獦, northern tribes, a tall *Ti*, II, 143; III, 95, 105.
- Ti K'u 帝嚙, mythical emperor, I, 354; II, 103; III, 33, 120, 125, 131.
- T'iao 條, principality in *Shansi*, I, 329; II, 90.
- T'ien Chang 田常, a noble of *Ch'i*, III, 58.
- T'ien Fén 田粉, minister of *Han Wu Ti*, I, 397.
- T'ien Tan 田單, official of *Ch'i*, II, 13.
- T'ien Wén 田文, prince of *Méng Ch'ang* in *Ch'i*, I, 341.
- T'ien Ying 田嬰, father of *T'ien Wén*, I, 341.
- Ting Hou 丁后, wife of the emperor *Kung Wang*, I, 399.
- Ting-hu 鼎湖, place in *Honan*, II, 103, 113.
- Ting Po 丁伯, enemy of *Wang Ch'ung's* family, I, 244.

Ting-t'ao 定陶, place in <i>Shantung</i> , I, 399.	Tse Chih 子之, minister of <i>Yen</i> , III, 30.
T'oo-li 豪離, State in northern <i>Corea</i> , I, 355.	Tse Chiu 子糾, prince of <i>Ch'i</i> , I, 356.
T'oo-p'ing 託平, place in <i>Shansi</i> , II, 10.	Tse Erh 子耳, father of <i>Po Yu</i> of <i>Cheng</i> , I, 389.
Tou 寶, empress-dowager, wife of <i>Han Wen Ti</i> , I, 359.	Tse Fan 子反, general of <i>Ch'u</i> , I, 339.
Tou Kuang Kuo 寶廣國, brother of the empress-dowager <i>Tou</i> , III, 40.	Tse Fu Li Po 子服厲伯, at the court of Duke <i>Mu</i> of <i>Lu</i> , 4th cent. B.C., III, 51.
Tou Ying 寶嬰, general, I, 304, 397; II, 22, 30.	Tse Hsi 子晳, officer of <i>Cheng</i> , I, 388.
Tsai Wo 宰我, disciple of <i>Confucius</i> , III, 8.	Tse Hsi 子晳, prince of <i>Ch'u</i> , I, 350.
Tsai Yu 宰子, disciple of <i>Confucius</i> , renowned for his gift of speech, II, 93.	Tse Hsia 子夏, disciple of <i>Confucius</i> , I, 316, 318, 344; III, 40.
Ts'ai 蔡, State, I, 259.	Tse Hsü = <i>Wu Tse Hsü</i> , see <i>Wu Yuan</i> .
Ts'ai Mè 蔡墨, historiographer of <i>Wei</i> , II, 135.	Tse Kan 子干, prince of <i>Ch'u</i> , III, 156.
Ts'ai Shu Tu 蔡叔度, brother of <i>Chou Kung</i> , I, 305.	Tse Kao 子羔 see <i>Kao Tse Kao</i> , III, 16, 58.
Ts'ai Tsé 蔡澤, minister of <i>Ch'in</i> , I, 327, native of <i>Yen</i> , II, 92.	Tse Knng 子貢, disciple of <i>Confucius</i> , I, 249, 275, 327, 368; II, 92, 139, 142; III, 7, 9, 18, 19, 21, 43, 131.
Tsang Ts'ang 戲倉, favourite of Duke <i>P'ing</i> of <i>Lu</i> , I, 327; III, 31.	Tse-kung 紫宮, constellation, II, 72.
Ts'ang Hsieh 著頤, minister of <i>Huang Ti</i> , inventor of writing, I, 267, 270; II, 25, 85, 103.	Tse K'uei 子喦, king of <i>Yen</i> , III, 29.
Tsao Fu 造父, famous charioteer, I, 318; II, 156.	Tse Liang 子良, grandfather of <i>Po Yu</i> of <i>Cheng</i> , I, 389.
Ts'ao Ts'an 曹參, minister of <i>Han Kao Tsu</i> , I, 274.	Tse Lu 子路, disciple of <i>Confucius</i> , I, 345, 362; II, 157; III, 7, 12, 16, 24, 26, 40, 58.
Tse 子, family name of the <i>Yin</i> dynasty, II, 99, 103.	Tse Ming 子明, his self-sacrifice, III, 85.
Tse Ch'an 子產 = <i>Kung Sun Chiao</i> , famous minister of <i>Cheng</i> , I, 389, 394, II, 16, 93; III, 52, 74.	Tse Sse 子思 = <i>K'ung Tse Sse</i> , grandson of <i>Confucius</i> , III, 51.
Tse Chang 子張, disciple of <i>Confucius</i> , III, 10.	Tse Wei 子韋, astrologer in <i>Sung</i> , I, 307, 338.
Tse Chao 子招, prince of <i>Ch'u</i> , I, 356.	Tse Wen 子文, minister of <i>Ch'u</i> , III, 10.

- Tse Ying 子嬰, last emperor of the *Ch'in* dynasty, II, 100.
- Tse Yu 子游, disciple of *Confucius*, III, 2.
- Tse Yü 子輿, minister of *Ch'in*, II, 4.
- Tse Yü 子圉, prince of *Ch'u*, I, 356.
- Tse Yü 子玉, minister of *Ch'u*, III, 10.
- Ts'e 賦 = *Tse Kung*, I, 259; II, 157; III, 17, 43.
- Tseng Hsi 曾皙, father of *Tseng Tse*, II, 148.
- Tseng Tse 曾子, disciple of *Confucius*, I, 344; III, 24, 86.
- Tseng Shén 曾參 = *Tseng Tse*, II, 148.
- Tso Ch'in Ming 左邱明, author of the *Tso-chuan*, II, 24, 57; III, 64, 71.
- Tso-chuan 左氏傳, commentary to the "Spring and Autumn" Classic, II, 56, 57, 155, 168; III, 64, 66, 71.
- Tso Wu 左吳, Taoist connected with *Huai Nan Tse*, II, 34.
- Tsou Po Chi 鄒伯奇, author, I, 267; III, 77.
- Tsou Yang 鄒陽, 2nd cent. b.c., I, 247.
- Tsou Yen 鄒衍, scholar of the 4th cent. b.c., I, 269, causing a fall of frost, I, 292, causing the "Cold Valley" to become warm, I, 294, on the Nine Continents, II, 34, 62, 63, his works, III, 72.
- Tsu Yi 祖乙, *Shang* emperor, I, 393.
- Tsu Yi 祖伊, minister of the emperor *Chou*, I, 365.
- Tsung-ch'uan 釡川, principality, II, 136.
- Tsung Yi 釡夷, family name, II, 136.
- Tu 杜, marquis of, appeared as a ghost, I, 382, 391; II, 28, 80.
- Tu Hui 杜回, a strong man of *Ch'in*, I, 391; II, 29.
- Tu-so 度朔, fabulous mountain, II, 24.
- T'u An Ku 屠岸賈, minister of *Chin*, who destroyed the whole house of *Chao*, I, 257.
- Tuan Kan Mu 段干木, scholar of *Wei*, III, 44, 48.
- Tun 頓, territory in *Honan*, III, 109.
- Tun-mou 頓牟, city in *Honan*, I, 296.
- Tung 董, a dragon-keeper, II, 136.
- Tung An Yü 董安于, minister of Viscount *Chien* of *Chao*, I, 302; II, 4, 162.
- Tung Chiang 東匠, of *Cheng*, murdered by his wife, III, 52.
- Tung Chung Shu 董仲舒, author, I, 258, 264, his rain sacrifice, I, 386; II, 138, 169; III, 74—76, 113.
- Tung-chün 東郡, circuit in northern *Honan*, II, 18; III, 101.
- Tung-fan 東番, a place, III, 78.
- Tung Fang So 東方朔, Taoist magician, II, 127.
- Tung Fu 董父, II, 136.
- Tung-hai 東海, place in *Kiangsu*, III, 57, 73.
- Tung-hsia 東下, place, II, 158.
- Tung-kuan 關東, place in *Shensi*, II, 12.
- Tung-kuan 東莞, place, I, 359.
- Tung-li 洞歷, work of *Chou Chang Sheng*, III, 78.

Tung Ming 東明, king of *Fu-yü* in Corea, I, 355.

Tung Wu Hsin 董無心, Confucianist of the *Han* time, I, 342.

## V.

Venus 太白, eclipsed the Pleiades, when *Ching K'o* stabbed *Ch'in Shih Huang Ti*, I, 297, 298.

## W.

Wan Shih 萬石, I, 281.

Wang 王姬, woman of the time of *Han Kao Tsu*, I, 357.

Wang 王夫人, wife of the emperor *Wu Ti*, I, 277.

Wang Ch'ang Sun 王長孫, fortune-teller, I, 360.

Wang Chi 王季, father of *Wen Wang*, I, 385, 392.

Wang Chi'ao 王喬, prince of *Chin*, an immortal, II, 109.

Wang Ch'ung 王充, philosopher, author of the *Lun-heng*, I, 244, his ideal, I, 260, in Chap. I passim.

Wang Liang 王良, famous charioteer, I, 289, 318; II, 156; III, 49, 53.

Wang Mang 王莽, the usurper, I, 361, 398, 399; II, 87, 141, 147; III, 68, 82, 94.

Wang Shé 王朔, diviner, I, 348.

Wang Tse Ch'iao see *Wang Ch'iao*, II, 128.

Wang-wang 往亡, a kind of unlucky day, III, 140.

Wang Yang 王陽, famous teacher, 1st cent. A.D., I, 315.

Wei 衛, State in *Henan*, I, 265, 275, 297, 298, 302, 317, 334, 366; II, 1; III, 12, 19, 22, 105, 108.

Wei 魏, State in *Shansi*, I, 351; II, 10, 86, 135, 163; III, 44, 91, 110.

Wei 魏郡, circuit, parts of *Chili* and *Shansi*, I, 244; II, 87.

Wei 渭, tributary of the *Huang-ho*, III, 75.

Wei Ch'i 魏齊, premier of *Wei*, I, 295.

Wei Ch'ing 衛青, general, I, 349; II, 89, 145.

Wei K'o 魏顥, general of *Chin*, I, 391; II, 29.

Wei Liao 尉繚, supporter of *Ch'in Shih Hung Ti*, II, 92.

Wei Tse 微子, viscount of *Wei*, II, 166.

Wei Wu Tse 魏武子, father of *Wei K'o*, I, 391.

Wei-yü 魏榆, city in *Shansi*, II, 18.

Wén 文, duke of *Chin*, I, 333, 342, 369; II, 4, 141.

Wén 文, marquis of *Wei*, III, 44.

Wén 文, duke of *Lu*, I, 254.

Wén-ch'ang 文昌, constellation, II, 72.

Wén Ch'êng 文成, Taoist thaumaturgist, II, 127.

Wén Chih 文摯, famous physician, II, 122.

Wén Ti 文帝, *Han* emperor, I, 329, 359; II, 89.

Wén Tse 文子, Taoist philosopher, I, 280.

Wén Tse 文子, orphan of *Chao*, I, 357.

Wén Wang 文王, founder of the *Chou* dynasty, I, 267, 301, 309, 310, 311, 313, 322, 338, 368, 385, 392; II, 85, 97, 103, 105; III, 33, 48, 63, 83, 89, 95, 103, 113, 123, 125, 131.

Wu 武, king of *Ch'u*, I, 293.

Wu 武 = *Wu Wang*, I, 309, 365, 366, 367, 369, 385.

- Wu 武, duke of *Sung*, II, 76.  
 Wu 吳, son of *Hsun Yen* of *Chin*, I, 386.  
 Wu 武負, elderly lady of the time of *Han Kao Tsu*, I, 357.  
 Wu 吳, State in *Kiangsu*, I, 300, 304, 311, 398; II, 81.  
 Wu-an 武安, marquis of, I, 397; II, 30, 125.  
 Wu Chi 無忌, prince of *Wei*, III, 91.  
 Wu Ching 吳慶, officer of *Chao*, II, 7.  
 Wu Chün Kao 吳君高, a writer, III, 78.  
 Wu Hsü 無恤, name of viscount *Hsiang* of *Chao*, II, 7, 10, 88.  
 Wu Li 五利, Taoist magician, II, 127.  
 Wu Ling 武靈, king of *Chao*, II, 7.  
 Wu-ling 於陵, place in *Shantung*, III, 36.  
 Wu Pei 伍被, Taoist, friend of *Huai Nan Tse*, II, 34, 119.  
 Wusun 烏孫, a non-Chinese tribe, I, 354.  
 Wu Ti 武帝, *Han* emperor, I, 277; II, 127, 140, 144, 151; III, 57, 65.  
 Wu Ting 武丁, *Shang* emperor, I, 393.  
 Wu Tse Hsü 伍子胥 = *Wu Yuan*, I, 398.  
 Wu Wang 武王, king of the *Chou* dynasty, I, 310, 313; II, 2, 19, 69, 85, 97, 103, 105, 150; III, 33, 67, 87, 91, 103, 125, 131.  
 Wu-yi, Chapter of the *Shuking* 母佚, III, 113.  
 Wu Yuan 伍員, minister of *Wu*, 6th cent. B.C., I, 320, 382, 390; III, 40.
- Y.
- Ya Fu 亞父, title of *Fan Ts'eng*, I, 358.  
 Yang 陽, marquis of, II, 10.  
 Yang Ch'êng Tse Chang 陽成子張, author of the *Yüeh-ching*, I, 256, 268.  
 Yang-chou 楊州, province, I, 261.  
 Yang Chu 楊朱, the philosopher of egoism, I, 263.  
 Yang Chung 楊終, scholar, III, 78.  
 Yang-hsia 陽夏, city in *Honan*, II, 88.  
 Yang Hsin 楊信, princess, II, 89.  
 Yang-hsing-shu 養性書, Macrobiotics, work of *Wang Ch'ung*, I, 262.  
 Yang Hsiung 楊雄 = *Yang Tse Yün*, I, 259; II, 172.  
 Yang Hu 陽虎, minister of the *Chi* family in *Lu*, I, 287; II, 84.  
 Yang Huo 陽貨 = *Yang Hu*, III, 26.  
 Yang Shé Shih Wo 羊舌食我, a native of *Chin*, 6th cent. B.C., I, 321; II, 166.  
 Yang Shéng 羊勝, lived under the Former *Han* dynasty, I, 247.  
 Yang Tse 楊子 = *Yang Chu*, I, 263, 265; II, 155.  
 Yangtse 江, river, II, 12, 23, 133; III, 143.  
 Yang Tse Yün 楊子雲 = *Yang Hsiung*, famous philosopher, I, 256, 261, 268, 304, 328; II, 4, 142; III, 75, 78, 86.  
 Yang Yu Chi 養由基, famous archer, III, 104, 106.  
 Yao 堯, ancient emperor, I, 248, 269, 308, 310, 314, 335, 352, 353, 394; II, 52, 63, 85, 93, 96, 100, 105, 148, 153, 159, 166; III, 29, 33, 48, 67, 68, 86, 90, 125, 131.

- Yao and Shun 堯舜, the model emperors, I, 249, 251, 254, both inactive, I, 278, 342; II, 115, 140, 152, 153, 156, 160; III, 49, 87, 99, 103, 143.  
 Yao 尧, defile in Honan, II, 5; III, 109.  
 Yeh 耶, city in Wei, II, 163.  
 Yeh Ku 夜姑, officer of Sung, II, 29; III, 121.  
 Yellow River 河, I, 275; II, 19, 62, 75; III, 14, 63, 75.  
 Yen 延, king of Ch'u, I, 299.  
 Yen 優, king of Hsü, I, 333; III, 47.  
 Yen 延, music-master of Chou, II, 2.  
 Yen 燕, State in Chili, I, 269, 295; 13, 29, 63, 160; III, 29, 101, 112.  
 Yen Chang 僂章, I, 327.  
 Yen Fang 颜方, scholar, III, 78.  
 Yen-hu 掩汎, river in Corea, I, 355.  
 Yen Hui 顏回, disciple of Confucius, I, 261, 266, 331; II, 149; III, 7, 11, 86.  
 Yen-ling 延陵, place in Kiangsu, III, 132.  
 Yen Lu 顏路, father of Yen Hui, I, 261; II, 149; III, 20.  
 Yen-tao 嚴道, city in Szechuan, II, 118.  
 Yen Ti 炎帝 = Shén Nung, god of the Hearth, I, 353; II, 159; III, 128.  
 Yen-t'ieh-lun 鹽鐵論, treatise on Salt and Iron by Huan K'uan, III, 77.  
 Yen Tse 晏子 = Yen Ying, the Great Diviner of Ch'i, I, 301, 307, 322, 393.  
 Yen Yuan 顏淵 = Yen Hui, I, 280, 319, 345, 348; II, 141, 143; III, 18, 20, 40, 76.  
 Yen Yüeh 閻樂, assassin of Hu Hai, II, 100.  
 Yi 益, minister of Yü, II, 34, 53, 111.  
 Yi 翫, king of Yüeh, I, 330.  
 Yi 夷, eastern barbarians, I, 355.  
 Yi 沂, river in Shantung, III, 129.  
 Yi-chang-chü 易章句, work of Yuan T'ai Po, III, 78.  
 Yiking 易經, Canon of Changes, I, 267, 268, 278, 308, 364, 367; II, 33, 48, 56, 64, 67, 137; III, 27, 56, 57, 59, 63, 82, 123, 135, 138.  
 Yi Ti 儀狄, inventor of wine, I, 249, 254, 255, 305.  
 Yi Ya 易牙, cook of duke Huan of Ch'i, I, 249, 254, 255, 305.  
 Yi Yin 伊尹, minister of T'ang, I, 261, 355, 393.  
 Yin 殷, dynasty = Hsia dynasty, I, 303, 313; II, 99, 105; III, 64, 73, 84, 93, 98, 125.  
 Yin 殷, principality of Ch'eng T'ang in Honan, III, 67.  
 Yin 莆, district in Chekiang, II, 36.  
 Yin 隱, duke of Lu, III, 62.  
 Yin Ch'i 尹齊, official, I, 398.  
 Ying 英, king of Ch'u, II, 71.  
 Ying 應, marquisate of Fan Sui, I, 327.  
 Ying 英, generous official, III, 85.  
 Ying 嬴, family name of the viscounts of Chao, II, 5, 7.  
 Ying-ch'uan 頸川, circuit in An-hui, I, 267; III, 87.  
 Ying-hai 濟海, the Great Ocean, II, 34.  
 Yo Chêng Tse 樂正子, disciple of Mencius, III, 31.  
 Yu 壽, emperor of the Chou dynasty, II, 102; III, 136.

- Yu Yo** 有若, disciple of *Confucius*, II, 141, 148.
- Yu-li** 美里, place where *Wen Wang* was imprisoned, I, 322.
- Yu Miao** 有苗, aboriginal tribes, III, 88, 103.
- Yuan** 元, duke of *Sung*, II, 146.
- Yuan** 元, princess of *Lu*, daughter of *Han Kao Tsu*, II, 86.
- Yuan ch'êng** 元城, city in *Chili*, I, 244.
- Yuan Kuo** 原過, minister of viscount *Hsiang* of *Chao*, II, 10.
- Yuan-sse** 元思, work of *Tsou Po Ch'i*, III, 78.
- Yuan T'ai Po** 袁太伯, a writer, III, 78.
- Yuan Ti** 元帝, *Han* emperor, I, 360, 398; II, 87.
- Yuan Wén Shu** 袁文術, author, III, 78.
- Yung-chou** 雍州, one of the Nine Provinces of *Yü*, comprising *Shensi* and *Kansu*, II, 118.
- Yü** 禹, ancient emperor, I, 257, 261, 278, 303, 308, 353; II, 34, 53, 59, 63, 85, 93, 99, 111, 116, 133, 144, 148, 153, 159; III, 2, 13, 16, 33, 63, 67, 84, 87, 90, 115, 125, 128, 131.
- Yü** 羽, mountain to which *Kun* was banished, I, 394; II, 107.
- Yü** 虞, *Shun's* territory in *Shansi*, III, 67.
- Yü-ch'êng** 魚腸, famous sword, II, 158.
- Yü Jang** 豫讓, attempted to assassinate the Viscount of *Chao*, II, 139.
- Yü Lung** 御龍, dragon-keeper under the emperor *K'ung Chia*, II, 135.
- Yü Lü** 鬱壘 *see Shén Shu*, II, 24.
- Yü Shih** 雨師, Rain God, III, 130.
- Yü Tse** 豫子 = *Yü Jang*, I, 297.
- Yü Tse Ta** 虞子大, a minister, I, 359.
- Yüeh** 南越, southern, aborigines in *Kuangtung* and *Annam*, I, 304; II, 81, 163; III, 145.
- Yüeh** 越, State in *Chekiang*, I, 300, 330, 368; II, 22, 79, 91, 160.
- Yüeh-th'êng** 越當 = *Yüeh-shang*, II, 148.
- Yüeh-ching** 樂經, Classic of Music, work of *Yang Ch'êng Tse Chang*, I, 268.
- Yüeh-ling** 月令, Book III of the *Liki*, I, 321; III, 130.
- Yüeh-shang** 越裳, a people in *Kuang-tung*, III, 114.
- Yüeh-yo** 越紐, work of *Wu Chün Kao*, III, 78.

## CHINESE WORKS QUOTED.

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1. My translation of the *Lun-hêng* is based on the text contained in the 子書百家, 110 vols., printed in Wuchang, 1875. The text agrees with that of the 漢魏叢書, it is clearer than that of the latter work in my possession, but not punctuated as the *Han Wei ts'ung-shu* is.

2. I quote the Classics from Legge's translation. For the *Liki* and the *Yiking*, of which Legge does not give the Chinese text, I have used the 禮記陳氏集說, 10 vols., printed in Nanking, 1893, and the 易經本義, 2 vols., by 朱熹, printed in Nanking in the same year.

3. The Dynastic Histories:—the 史記, the two 漢書, the 隋書, and the 舊唐書 are quoted from the 二十四史, Shanghai edition 1894.

4. For the Philosophers:—莊子, 列子, 韓非子, 淮南子, and 荀子 the 十子全書, 24 vols., printed in Soochow 1804, has been used.

5. 墨子, the 山海經, and the 呂氏春秋 are quoted from the 子書百家 (see above).

Besides I have made use of the:—

6. 太平御覽, 120 vols., edited by 鮑崇城 in 1812.
  7. 欽定四庫全書總目, 100 vols., Canton reprint of 1868.
  8. 歷代名賢列女氏姓譜, 144 vols., by 蕭智漢 1792.
  9. 書目答問, 2 vols., by 張之洞, printed in Shanghai in 1895.
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## ERRATA AND ADDENDA.

- I, 244, line 5, for *K'uei-chi* read *K'uei-chi*.
- 247, . 3 from the end, for *Wang Chung* read *Wang Ch'ung*.
  - 261, . 14, for *K'un* read *Kun*.
  - 261, . 3 from the end, for *Wang Chung* read *Wang Ch'ung*.
  - 275, . 6 from the end, for *Ch'ung Tse* read *Chung Tse*.
  - 296, lines 5 and 8, for *Tun-mao* read *Tun-mou*.
  - 298, . 13, 15, and 18, for *Chén* read *Ch'én*.
  - 302, line 3 from the end, for *Chin* read *Ch'in*.
  - 302, last line, for *Ch'eng* read *Chéng*.
  - 305, line 5 from the end:—"Ti Ya knew how to give the right flavour to what he was cooking" should read:—"Yi Ti and Yi Ya knew how to give the right flavour to what they were cooking." *Ti Ya* is the peculiar Chinese abbreviation for *Yi Ti* and *Yi Ya*. On these two men see the Index.
  - 307, line 12, for *phenomenalists* read *phenomenalists*.
  - 317, . 9, for *Ch'eng* read *Chéng*.
  - 322, . 6, for *Hsia-tai* read *Hsia-t'ai*.
  - 329, . 2, for *Tiao* read *T'iao*.
  - 338, . 6 from the end, for *kindheartedness* read *kind-heartedness*.
  - 342, . 9, for *Chin* read *Ch'in*.
  - 346, in Note 1, for *Ch'ao* read *Chao*.
  - 354, line 2 from the end, for *Kun Mo* read *K'un Mo*.
  - 359, . 8 from the end, for *Tung Kuan* read *Tung-kuan*.
  - 361, . 4, for *Ho-pin* read *Ho-pei*.
  - 369, lines 19 and 23, for *Chin Fan* read *Chiu Fan*.
  - 370, line 4, for *Chin Fan* read *Chiu Fan*.
  - 388, . 5 from the end and last line, for *Ch'eng* read *Chéng*.
  - 389, . 26 bis, Note 1 and Note 2, for *Ch'eng* read *Chéng*.
  - 391, . 5, for *Ch'eng* read *Chéng*.
  - 393, . 2, for *Ku* read *Hua*.
  - 394, . 17, for *Ch'eng* read *Chéng*.
  - 396, . 15, for *Liu An* read *Liu An*.
- II, 7, . 1, for *Ch'ung Hang Chao Tse* read *Chung Hang Chao Tse*.
- 12, . 1, for *Chin Shih Huang Ti* read *Ch'in Shih Huang Ti*.

- II, 13, line 4, for *Sha-ch'in* read *Sha-ch'iu*.  
 - 13, • 8, for *Ch'in Shih Wang Ti* read *Ch'in Shih Huang Ti*.  
 - 13, lines 17 and 19, for *Chin Fan* read *Chiu Fan*.  
 - 16, • 8, 11, and 12, for *Ch'êng* read *Chêng*.  
 - 18, line 9 from the end, for *Ch'ung Tse* read *Chung Tse*.  
 - 26, • 21, for *Pei-ch'in* read *Pei-ch'iu*.  
 - 75, • 4 from the end, for "he ought" read "it ought."  
 - 76, lines 5 and 8, for *Ch'ung Tse* read *Chung Tse*.  
 - 87, line 9 from the end, for *Chêng Ti* read *Ch'êng Ti*.  
 - 109, • 11, for *Ch'in* read *Ch'in*.  
 - 140, • 12, for *Chang-lo* read *Ch'ang-lo*.  
 - 143, Note 2, for "Cf. XV. 4" read "Cf. p. 486 Note 3."  
 - 145, line 7 from the end, for *Shao-yang* read *Shou-yang*.  
 - 156, • 22, for *Chieh Kuei* read *Chieh* and *Chou*.  
 - 159, • 3 from the end, for *Fan-chüan* read *Fan-ch'üan*.  
 - 169, • 7 from the end, for *Chuang Chiao* read *Chuang Ch'iao*.  

III, 125, • 15 and Note 6, for *K'un* read *Kun*.  
 - 127. The whole page from—"He had four uncles" to "From the *Shang* dynasty downwards people sacrificed to him" on page 519 is a quotation from the *Tso-chuan*, Duke *Ch'ao* 29th year (Legge's transl. Vol. II, p. 729). The text of the *Tso-chuan* confirms my suggestion (p. 518 Note 4) that we ought to read—"who could master metal, water, and wood," replacing "fire" by "water," for the Classic speaks of metal, wood, and water. It describes the Five Spirits as officers of the five elementary principles, assigning the proper element to each. I have translated 四叔 by "four uncles." Legge's rendering "four men" is better, 叔 may mean a gentleman or a squire (cf. Williams' Dictionary).  
 - 131, line 12, for *K'un* read *Kun*.

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## CONTENTS.

	Page
<i>E. Critique (philosophical, literary and historical).</i>	
33. Criticisms on Confucius (Wên K'ung). Bk. IX, Chap. I . . . . .	1
34. Ceasures on Mencius (Ts'e Mêng). Bk. X, Chap. II . . . . .	27
35. Strictures on Han Fei Tse (Fei Han). Bk. X, Chap. I . . . . .	42
36. Statements Corrected (Chêng-shuo). Bk. XXVIII, Chap. I . . . . .	56
37. Critical Remarks on Various Books (An-shu). Bk. XXIX, Chap. I . . . . .	70
38. The Equality of the Ages (Ch'i-shih). Bk. XVIII, Chap. III . . . . .	80
39. Exaggerations (Yü-tsêng). Bk. VII, Chap. II . . . . .	90
40. Exaggerations of the Literati (Ju-tsêng). Bk. VIII, Chap. I . . . . .	103
 <i>F. Folklore and religion.</i>	
41. Sacrifices to the Departed (Sse-yi). Bk. XXV, Chap. III . . . . .	118
42. Sacrifices (Chi-yi). Bk. XXV, Chap. IV . . . . .	125
43. Criticisms on Noxious Influences (Pieu-sui). Bk. XXIV, Chap. III . . . . .	134
44. On Exorcism (Chiech-ch'u). Bk. XXV, Chap. II . . . . .	141
Index of Subjects . . . . .	147
Index of Proper Names . . . . .	160
Chinese Works Quoted . . . . .	185
Errata and Addenda . . . . .	186

## Bericht über eine Reise in das Innere der Insel Hainan.

Von M. DIEHR.

Mit einer Kartenskizze.

Schon frühzeitig wird Hainan in der Geschichte Chinas erwähnt. Man kennt die Insel als reich an Perlen, man weiß von dem Golde, welches ihre Flüsse führen, und weit berühmt ist das Riechholz, welches in Hainans Wäldern wächst. Aber das Land ist unwegsam, seine Bewohner sind roh, und Piraten hausen an seinen Küsten. Monate vergehen, ehe die Boten des Hofes das Land erreichen, und sie kommen nur, um Tribut von den Schätzen Hainans zu erheben. Die Unwirtlichkeit des Landes und seiner Bewohner gestattet kein längeres Verweilen auf der Insel. Wunderbar geeignet mußte eine solche Insel dem Hofe als Verbannungsort mächtiger und gefährlicher Großer erscheinen. So kommt es, daß Hainans Geschichte mit den Namen eines Su Tung-po und Hu Tan-an aufs engste verknüpft ist.

Aber trotz einer nach so vielen Jahrhunderten zählenden Geschichte zeigt die Insel selbst heute noch wenig Entwicklung. Wohl wurden die Küstendistrikte und der flache Norden der Insel angebaut, das gebirgige Innere aber blieb den wilden Stämmen der Loi (黎) überlassen, die von Zeit zu Zeit mordend und raubend in die angebauten Ebenen hinabstiegen. Mit der Zeit jedoch wurden diese Ausfälle seltener, und an den Grenzen ihrer Gebiete trafen Loi und Chinese zum Tauschverkehr zusammen. Auch machte sich bei einigen Loi-Stämmen chinesischer Einfluß in Sitte und Gewohnheiten bemerkbar, aber zu einer wirklichen Annäherung kam es nie. Das Loi-Land ist noch hente den Chinesen verschlossen, wenu auch zu glauben steht, daß einst die chinesische Zivilisation sich die Loi-Stämme unterwerfen wird. Zur Zeit aber hält eine abergläubische Furcht vor den Schrecken der Berge, dem gewaltsamen Charakter der Loi-Leute und der todbringenden Natur des Landes die Gemüter der Chinesen besangen. Für ungeheuer hält man die Schwierigkeiten der Wege; von vergiftender Wirkung ist das Wasser, betäubend die Luft der Täler und tödlich der Nebel, der auf seinen Höhen liegt, so glaubt heute noch allgemein das Volk. Voll scheuer Ehrfurcht sieht man von der chinesischen Ebene ans die ragenden Gipfel der Fünf-Finger-Berge, deren steile Abhänge von dichtem Forst bedeckt sind. Kein Loi betritt diesen Berg; gewaltige Schlangen teilen sein Revier mit dem wilden Getier des Waldes. Der Weg zum Gipfel führt über Geröll und gähnende Felsspalten: wer ihn betritt, ist dem sicheren Tode verfallen. So groß ist die Furcht und der Schrecken vor dem Loi-

Lande, daß selbst die Freuden sich nicht nur von einer Erforschung des Innern des Landes haben abhalten lassen, sondern selbst die von Chinesen bewohnten Küstendistrikte nur höchst unvollkommen durchforscht haben.

Seit Dezember 1904 dem hiesigen Zollstabe zugeteilt, hat mich die Insel seit meiner Ankunft in Hoihow stets lebhaft interessiert, und ich beschloß, einen vierwöchigen Urlaub im Frühjahr dieses Jahres zu verwenden, um eine Reise in das Innere der Insel zu unternehmen. Da mir jedoch wohl bekannt war, daß die Lokalbehörden nicht imstande sind, Reisenden, die die Grenzen des Loi-Landes überschreiten, Schutz und Hilfe angedeihen zu lassen, hegte ich die Befürchtung, daß sie sich einem Vordringen in jene Gebiete widersetzen würden. Ich beschloß deshalb, das Loi-Gebiet zu umgehen und vom Süden her von einem Punkte, der sich der Kontrolle der chinesischen Behörden entzieht, einen Vorstoß zu versuchen. Ich machte meinen Plan folgendermaßen: Von Hoihow (海口) aus beschloß ich, den Faotai-(舖前) Fluß entlang nach Süden zu gehen und später in südöstlicher Richtung über die Orte Ui-tiok (黃竹) und Tua-lu (大路) die Stadt Ka-check (嘉積) an der Ostküste zu erreichen. Von dort wollte ich meinen Weg an der Küste entlang nach Ling-tui (陵水) nehmen und versuchen, von einem geeigneten Punkt an dem Ling-tui-Fluß aus meinen Marsch durch das Gebiet der Loi-Stämme nach Norden anzutreten. Bei der Stadt Lia-mui (嶺門) hoffte ich, wiederum chinesisches Gebiet zu erreichen. Hoihow ist von dieser Stadt nur 280 Li entfernt und kann in 3 Tagen erreicht werden.

Durch ein glückliches Zusammentreffen aller wichtigen Faktoren war ich imstande, meinen Plan, wie hier angegeben, auszuführen. Ich legte eine Wegstrecke von etwa 1200 Li in 22 Tagen zurück und erwarb mir auf meiner Reise einen allgemeinen Eindruck von der Natur des Landes, seiner natürlichen Hilfskräfte und seiner Entwicklungsfähigkeit. Ich durchkreuzte Teile des Loi-Landes, die nie von einem Europäer zuvor betreten worden waren, und gewann einen Einblick in die Sitten und Gewohnheiten der auf meinem Wege getroffenen Loi-Stämme. Die Resultate meiner Reise sind vielleicht weniger eingehend, als es wünschenswert wäre: in der mir zur Verfügung stehenden Zeit und bei der Länge des von mir durchlaufenden Weges habe ich versucht, meiner Aufgabe so gerecht wie nur möglich zu werden, und ich plädiere da, wo ich hinter dem Ziele zurückbleibe, um Nachsicht.

Da es an zuverlässigen Nachrichten über das Innere der Insel völlig fehlt, mußte meine Ausrüstung so vollkommen wie möglich sein, um allen möglichen Lagen und Anforderungen gewachsen zu sein; auf der andern Seite wurde der Wunsch nach Vollständigkeit begrenzt durch die Forderung größtmöglicher Beweglichkeit meiner Marschkolonne.

Nach längerer Vorbereitung konnte ich endlich am 13. Februar 1906 aufbrechen. Ich hatte für den ersten Tag nur einen Marsch von 40 Li vorgesehen, der uns bis zu dem Dorfe No-yang (那昌) am Fao-tai-Flusse führen sollte. Nicht ohne lebhafte Interesse wurde der Abmarsch

unternommenen. Erst spät kamen wir ins Quartier, welches uns in seiner Armseligkeit zu lebhaft den Komfort, in welchem wir in Hoihow zu leben gewohnt waren, vor Augen führte. Damals und zu vielen andern Malen auf unsrer Reise erschien uns Hoihow in dem rosigen Licht eines Klein-Paris.

Von No-yang brachen wir am frühen Morgen des 14. Februar auf, um die Straße, die den Fluß entlang nach Süden führt, zu verfolgen. Nach halbtägigem Marsch auf einer mit bewunderungswürdiger Gleichmäßigkeit auf viele Meilen hindrein in dem elendesten Zustande gehaltenen Straße wurden wir gezwungen, ein Boot zu mieten, um die Beruhigung zu haben, daß wir auf diesem Wege hoffen durften, in berechenbarer Zeit unser Ziel Tuen-ngai (船崖) zu erreichen. In der Tat kamen wir gegen Morgen des nächsten Tages daselbst an.

Das Land zwischen Hoihow und Tuen-ngai ist flach und wohl angebaut. Erdfrüchte wechseln mit Reis und Zuckerrohr ab. Dörfer finden sich häufig, und in ihrer Umgebung findet man Gebüsch und Bäume, die sonst überall dem Feldbau haben weichen müssen. Ihr lebhaften Grün und die gefällige Form der Kronen der jetzt häufiger auftretenden Kokospalmen bieten dem durch die Eintönigkeit der Szenerie ermüdeten Auge eine angenehme Abwechslung. Bewässert wird das Land von dem Fao-tai-Fluß, und die Chinesen bedienen sich zum Zwecke der Wasserhebung gewaltiger Räder, an deren Peripherien Bambusröhren befestigt sind. Diese tauchen beim Umdrehen in den Fluß und entleeren ihr Wasser, wenn sie auf der Höhe angekommen sind, in besonders angelegte Leitungsrienen, die wiederum das Wasser in die Felder führen. Bewegt werden diese Räder durch die Gewalt der Strömung. Da der Wasserspiegel des Flusses oft 10—15 Fuß unter dem Niveau der Felder liegt, kann man die oft enormen Dimensionen dieser Räder ermessen, die jedoch trotz ihrer Größe niemals eines gewissen wohlgefälligen Aussehens ermangeln. Das Material, aus dem die Räder gebaut sind, ist Bambus.

Der Fao-tai-Fluß, der seine Wasser in die Hainan-Straße ergießt, hat, wie man annimmt, seine Quelle auf den Fünf-Finger-Bergen. Der Fluß zeigt breite Ufer und führt zur Zeit der Regen bedeutende Wassermassen, zeigte jedoch zur Zeit unsrer Reise eine zwar breite Wasserfläche, von aber nur geringer Tiefe. Das Flußbett besteht zum Teil aus Triebsand, und der Fluß wird nur von Booten befahren, von denen die bedeutendsten die Größe der zum Reistransport zwischen Kanton und Wuchow gebrauchten sogenannten •West River Boats• erreichen. Die Zahl der Fahrzeuge auf dem Fluß ist bedeutend. Die größte Anzahl von ihnen geht nur den Strom bis zur Distriktsstadt Ting-an (定安) hinauf, und es besteht eine fast tägliche Verbindung zwischen Hoihow und dieser Stadt; einige dieser Boote aber gehen noch weiter und befahren die Quellflüsse des Fao-tai-Flusses.

Bei Tuen-ngai (船崖) verläßt die nach der Ostküste führende Straße den Fluß und führt in zweitägigem Marsche nach Ka-check. Ödes Land, bisweilen mit felsiger Basis, bildet den Hauptcharakter dieser Straße. Oft stundenlang führt der Weg über guten, aber wenig angebauten Boden,

und es scheint infolge Mangels genügender Bevölkerung, daß verhältnismäßig wenig Ackerland getroffen wird. Nur in der Umgebung von Niederlassungen wird der Boden bebaut. Die Orte Ui-tiok (黃竹) und Tua-lu (大路) sind unbedeutende Flecken, deren Existenzberechtigung in wenig mehr zu liegen scheint, als daß sie dem nüden Wandrer Quartier zu geben vermögen.

Am Morgen des 17. Februar erreichten wir Ka-check. Die Stadt scheint nicht groß in Ausdehnung zu sein, doch zeigen die Straßen lebhaftesten Verkehr und große Geschäftigkeit. Die Stadt selbst liegt an einem ziemlich breiten, aber flachen Flusse, der sich nach einem südöstlichen Laufe von mehreren Stunden in eine Meeresbucht ergießt. Die American Presbyterian Mission hat eine Niederlassung in Ka-check und arbeitete zur Zeit meiner Durchreise mit 4 Missionsmitgliedern, darunter ein Arzt. In der Stadt befindet sich eine Missionskapelle, und die Mission unterhält auch noch eine Schule und ein Hospital. An letzterem finden zur Zeit größere Um- und Neubauten statt. Die Mission, besonders soweit ihre ärztliche Tätigkeit in Betracht kommt, erfreut sich allgemeinster und verbreitetster Achtung.

Der Reisende, welcher durch Ka-check nach dem Süden reist, verweilt in der Regel den Tag über in der Stadt und begibt sich während der Nacht auf einem Boote nach dem in der Luftlinie 70 Li entfernten Orte Liang-Kuen (龍溪). Die Fahrt geht den Fluß hinunter in die See, und man fährt darauf ein wenig weiter südlich an der Küste in die Mündung eines aus Südwesten kommenden Flusses, dessen Lauf man bis zur Stadt Liang-Kuen hinauf verfolgt, woselbst man am frühen Morgen ankommt. Auf diese Weise wird ein voller Tagesmarsch gespart. Die Boote, auf denen die Reise unternommen wird, sind kaum von der Größe eines gewöhnlichen Ruderboots.

Von Liang-Kuen geht der Weg in der Nähe der See entlang nach Süden. Der Charakter der Gegend wirkt durch das massenhafte Auftreten von Palmen völlig tropisch. — Die Bauart der Häuser ist bemerkenswert; sie sind aus vorzüglich zubereiteten Backsteinen erbaut und geben dem Haus ein überaus solides und wohlhabendes Äußere. Die Bevölkerung unterscheidet sich vorteilhaft von der bis jetzt getroffenen: Männer und Frauen sind größer und stärker, und man begegnet manch hübschem Gesicht.

Kurz vor der Distriktsstadt Vang-chiu (萬州) geht der Weg in eine gepflasterte Straße über. Es steht zu hoffen, daß dem Erbauer dieser Straße der Dank seines Arbeitgebers geworden ist; von einem Reisenden, der mit Ach und Weh über die spitzen Steine gehen muß, ist kein liebenswürdiges Urteil zu erwarten. Die Ruhe, die des Reisenden in dem Gasthause der Stadt harrete, ist jedenfalls wohl verdient, und obwohl ein müder Mann nur mäßige Anforderungen an sein Nachtquartier stellt, schien es uns doch, als ob der Platz nicht ganz so erbärmlich hätte zu sein brauchen. Von der Stadt ist nichts zu erwähnen; sie ist von nur mäßiger Größe und geringer Bedeutung.

Von Vang-chiu führt der Weg in 2 Tagesmärschen nach Ling-tui (陵水), und wir treffen hier auf Strecken von hohem landschaftlichen Reiz. Bis Vang-chiu ist das Land oft einsförmig und öde; südlich von Vang-chiu entschädigt aber die Schönheit der Landschaft für den oft recht beschwerlichen Weg. Schon bei dem Abmarsche von Ka-cheek verdeckt das gebirgige Loi-Land den südlichen Horizont; je weiter uns der Weg nach Süden führt, um so deutlicher zeichnen sich die Formen der Berge ab, bis wir endlich bei dem Anmarsch auf Vang-chiu die Vorberge des Loi-Landes durchschreiten. Südlich von dieser Stadt treten die Berge bis an die See heran, und oft stundenlang führt der Weg am Meeresufer entlang, bis er durch einen weit in das Meer vorspringenden Bergabhang gezwungen wird, diesen zu überschreiten. Die Straße wird dann zum Pfad, der krumm und gewunden seinen Weg durch die lippige Vegetation, durch das dichteste Unterholz bahnt. Oft tunnelartig schließt das dichte Laubwerk den Weg ein; bald klettert der Pfad aufwärts von Felsen zu Felsen, bald geht er im Bett eines Bergbachs entlang. Die Brandung des nahen Meeres hält nur gedämpft wie ferner Donner in das Dickicht hinein. So wechselt der Weg zwischen Höhe und Seeufer. Es ist ein Bild von eigenartiger Schönheit, das sich uns an jenem Nachmittage darbot: auf der einen Seite die unter einem Südmonsum gleichmäßig rollende See, deren ferner Horizont von zerklüfteten Felseninseln begrenzt wurde, deren zackige Formen die blaue Ferne mildert, und auf der andern Seite bis an die Gipfel mit dunklem Forste bestandene Berge, deren steile Abhänge oft weit bis ins Meer vorsprangen.

Am späten Abend des 19. Februar erreichten wir den Ort Yo-voei (楊梅), der ein wenig landeinwärts gelegen ist. Der Ort besteht aus einigen Lehmhütten armseligster Konstruktion und Ausstattung, und seine Einwohner scheinen ihren Lebensunterhalt hauptsächlich durch die Reisenden zu verdienen, die hier übernachten. Die Frequenz scheint eine nicht unbedeutende zu sein, nach den vielen und großen Kochanlagen vor den Häusern zu schließen.

Mit einem Gefühl der Erleichterung verläßt man den Platz wieder. Der Weg führt zum Seegestade hinab und biegt nach halbtägigem Marsch auf dem harten Sande des Meeresufers landeinwärts und führt über öde Felder zur Distriktsstadt Ling-tui (陵水). Wären es nicht die überall und in größter Anzahl auftretenden Kokospalmen, man könnte diese letzte Hälfte des Weges monoton nennen. Palmen wachsen überall, wohin das Auge blickt. Sie treten so dicht, so häufig und dabei in so unregelmäßiger Ordnung auf, daß es scheint, als seien sie ohne Hilfe des Menschen gewachsen; eine systematische Anpflanzung zu Handelszwecken scheint nicht zu bestehen. Diese Unterlassung ist zu bedauern, besonders in Anbetracht des Umstandes, daß Klima und Boden in so vorzüglicher Weise geeignet erscheinen, diesen wertvollen Baum in überreicher Anzahl hervorzubringen.

Ling-tui ist eine sehr geschäftige Stadt von nicht unbedeutenden Dimensionen. Sie ist an einem Flusse gelegen, der mit seinen Zuflüssen

auf eine Entfernung von etwa 150 Li eine befahrbare Eingangsstraße in das Innere der Insel bildet. Bei unsrer Ankunft in der Stadt fanden wir die beiden Gasthäuser überfüllt und erhielten vom Distriktsmagistrat das Torhaus über dem Stadttor angewiesen, welches wir mit einigen buntbemalten Götzen zu teilen hatten. Die Wohnung, da sie lustig und reinlich war, war jedenfalls einem Aufenthalt im chinesischen Gasthaus vorzuziehen; doch da der Ort auch anderseits noch öffentliches Eigentum war, schützte er uns nicht vor Besuchern. Von Tagesanbruch bis Mitternacht waren wir von Neugierigen umlagert: unsre Sachen wie unsre Person wurden den eingehendsten Untersuchungen unterzogen, und nichts, keine noch so private Beschäftigung, entging ihrem Interesse, und alles wurde aufs lebhafteste kommentiert. Ich gehöre durchaus nicht zu den Leuten, die des Glaubens sind, dem Volke das Recht verweigern zu dürfen, einen reisenden Fremden und sein Gepäck der sorgfältigsten Untersuchung zu unterziehen, allein ich habe es doch nur mit einer gewissen Abneigung angesehen, wenn etwa ein edler Gastfreund meine Stiefel anprobieren oder sich in meinem Tropenhute dem erstaunten Volke zeigte. Ich glaube, daß ein Europäer in Anbetracht seiner höchst merkwürdigen Sitten und Gewohnheiten in diesen entlegenen Gebieten mit Recht die Behandlung eines Wundertiers erfahren darf; doch ich bin auch der Meinung, daß die Lokalbehörden ihm einen kräftigeren Schutz angedeihen lassen sollten. Besuche rechnet man in der ganzen Welt zu den Annehmlichkeiten, besonders, wenn eine weise Sitte ihre Dauer auf 10 Minuten bis  $\frac{1}{2}$  Stunde festgesetzt hat. Besuche aber von  $5\frac{1}{2}$  Uhr morgens bis Mitternacht erfreuen selten einen Menschen, besonders wenn er sich durch eine Ruhepause für die Anstrengungen künstlicher Märsche stärken will. Die Behörden könnten in diesem Fall etwas tun und den Besuch amtlich regeln: sie können sich des Dankes aller reisenden Fremden in China versichert halten.

Nach einem anderthalbtägigen Aufenthalte kehrten wir der Stadt mit einem gewissen Gefühle der Erleichterung den Rücken. Es war uns gelungen, ein kleines Boot zu mieten, auf welchem wir unsre Reise in das Innere der Insel anzutreten gedachten. Der Ling-tui-Fluß entspringt wahrscheinlich auf den Fünf-Finger-Bergen, fließt zuerst in südlicher Richtung und biegt dann nach Osten um, bis er auf einem Laufe von etwa 120 Li Länge die Stadt Ling-tui erreicht. Nach einem weitern Laufe von etwa 15 Li erreicht er die See und mündet in die Ling-tui-Bucht, einen zwar geräumigen, aber ungeschützten Meerbusen. Verfolgt man den Fluß hinauf bis in das Innere, bis zu seinem Bogen nach Norden, und geht dort an einem von Westen kommenden Nebenfluß entlang, so erreicht man nach etwa 10 Li das Loi-Dorf Choi-tung (石峒) und nach weitern 30 Li die Stadt Po-ting (保定), deren Bevölkerung sich überwiegend aus Loi zusammensetzt. Die Chinesen haben dort einen Militärmandarin von niederm Range stationiert. Da aber fast der ganze Weg von Ling-tui bis Po-ting durch Gebiet führt, über welches die Loi allein die Herrscher sind, erscheint mir die chinesische Herrschaft in Po-ting mehr geduldet als erzwungen. Unser Plan bestand darin, uns auf dem Flusse bis nach Chio-tung zu begeben und von dort in

nördlicher Richtung über die Fünf-Finger-Berge nach Lia-mui vorzudringen. Bei letzterm Platz betritt man wieder chinesischen Boden.

In Ling-tui war es uns trotz angestrengtester Bemühungen nicht gelungen, irgendwelche zuverlässigen Nachrichten über den Zustand der Wege im Innern, die Art des Reisens, Verpflegung usw. zu sammeln, und wir entschlossen uns daher, alles, was auf unserm Marsche nicht unbedingt notwendig war, von hier aus zurückzuschicken. Für die Verpflegung und Unterkunft verließen wir uns auf das, was der Zufall uns im Lande bieten würde. Auf alle Fälle wollten wir versuchen, nach Norden zu chinesisches Gebiet zu erreichen, und je weniger wir dabei von unsrer Bagage abhängig waren, und je williger wir waren, uns nach den gegebenen Verhältnissen zu richten, um so größer war die Aussicht auf Erfolg. Wir hatten Hoihow mit 5 Trägern, 1 Boy und 1 Koch verlassen. Die beiden letztgenannten erwiesen sich nach dem Verlassen Hoihows der Änderung der Verhältnisse in keiner Weise gewachsen und kehrten von hier aus nach Hoihow zurück. Ebenso ließ ich hier einen großen Teil unsrer Provisionen und Ausrüstungsstücke zurück.

Am Nachmittage des 22. Februar verließen wir Ling-tui. Das Boot, welches wir gemietet hatten, hatte kaum die Größe eines Ruderboots und war von primitivster Bauart. Durch Bedecken des mittleren Teiles mit einem Bambusdache war die -Passagierkabine- fertig, deren Länge und Breite gerade das Liegen und deren Höhe das Aufrechtsitzen gestattete. Eingang in diesen Bau konnte man nur durch Kriechen ermöglichen. Im vorderen Teile des Bootes wurde das Gepäck verstant, der hintere Teil diente den beiden Bootsleuten als Aufenthaltsort. Bei Hochwasser setzte das Boot Segel. Unsre Reise jedoch fiel in die Zeit des niedern Wasserstandes, und das Boot wurde meist durch Ziehen und Schieben vorwärtsbewegt. Bei dieser Arbeit fanden Bambusstangen nur selten Anwendung; die Bootsleute zogen es vor, im Wasser watend, das Boot über die Untiefen und Stromschnellen zu führen. Unsre Träger begleiteten das Boot, bald dem Pfad am Ufer folgend, bald im Flußbett entlang schreitend, und, wenn immer nötig, unsren Bootsleuten tatkräftig beistehend. Oft hatte das Wasser nur die Tiefe von einigen Zentimetern, die größte Tiefe dürfte aber wohl kaum mehr als  $\frac{1}{2}$  m betragen haben. Zur Zeit der Regen dagegen führt der Fluß enorme Wassermengen; seine Ufer sind breit und hoch, und man versichert, daß die Tiefe des Bettes dann 2—3 m sei. Zu solchen Zeiten verwandeln sich die jetzt so harmlosen Stromschnellen in gefährliche und schwer passierbare Stellen, die die Reise stromaufwärts, die sonst zwischen Ling-tui und Chio-tung nur 2 Tage dauert, auf 4 Tage oder auch mehr erhöhen.

Nach dem Verlassen der Stadt zeigten sich die Flußufer aufs dichteste eingefäßt von Palmen, jedoch schon nach einer Reise von nur etwa 20 Li verschwanden dieselben vollständig, und die Ufer erschienen nur von niederm Busch- und Laubwerk eingeraumt, zwischen denen nur vereinzelt ein höherer Baum sichtbar wurde. Dieser öde Anblick blieb den Ufern, bis der Fluß in die gebirgige Region eintrat. Die Berge sind von der Talsolole bis zum

Gipfel belaubt und von einem dichten Wald bedeckt. Die Szenerie wird sehr interessant, und stellenweise ist die Gegend von hoher landschaftlicher Schönheit. Kurz vor dem Eintritt in die Berge trafen wir unmittelbar am Nordufer des Flusses heiße Quellen. Das Wasser hatte Siedewärme, und das Flußbett zeigte in der Nachbarschaft der Quellen schwarzen vulkanischen Schlam, in welchem der Fuß beim Auftreten versank. Die Umgebung der Quellen am Ufer enthielt anscheinend keine weiteren vulkanischen Bildungen.

Am Morgen des 24. Februar, dem 12. Tage nach unserm Abmarsch aus Hoihow, kamen wir in Chio-tung an. Kaum waren wir in Sicht des Ortes gekommen, als die ganze Bevölkerung sich an der Landungsstelle versammelte. Unter allgemeiner Teilnahme wurden wir zu einem Hause geführt, welches in seiner Eigenschaft als einziger «Laden» der Einwohnerschaft als allgemeines Versammlungsklokal zu dienen schien. An der Tür wurden wir von dem Haupte der umwohnenden Loi-Stämme begrüßt. Es bedarf einer berufneren Feder, um die unzweifelhaft hohe Ehre und tiefsten Respekt ausdrückenden Begrüßungs- und Einladungsgesten zu beschreiben: sie waren nicht nur höchst umständlich, sondern auch zeitraubend. In der Annahme jedoch, daß auch in diesem, von der Kultur so abgelegenen Winkel die Bescheidenheit zu den Tugenden gerechnet werden dürfte, deren Ausübung trotz der heute so beliebten, gegenteiligen Behauptung einem Manne kaum als Fehler ausgelegt werden kann, drückten wir wiederholt durch ebenso unständliche Zeremonien unsre Unwürdigkeit aus und verharnten auf der Schwelle des Hauses. Einer Wiederholung von Einladungen mußten wir indes nachgeben und durchschritten Mann für Mann die Eingangstür, besonders als der Chef sich anschickte, unter einer Verbeugung uns den Arm zu bieten. Da ich nicht glauben konnte, daß diese Umgangsform der vornehmen Welt aus den Hochsitzen menschlicher Kultur nach Zentral-Hainan ihren Weg gefunden habe, nahm ich auch dieses als ein Zeichen respektvoller Ehrung dankend, aber schweigend hin und verschwand im Innern der Hütte. Meine Träger zeigten sich weniger zeremoniös und widmeten sich ohne weitere Umstände der Bereitung unsres Mahles. Unterdes eröffnete ich die Präluminarien zur Anbahnung eines freundschaftlichen Verkehrs. Da wir nicht verhehlten, daß wir nicht abgeneigt waren, gegen billige Hühner und Eier teures Schießpulver abzugeben, nahm der Verkehr auf der Basis des Tauschhandels bald kordialere Formen an. Als sie auch noch entdeckten, daß wir willig waren, ärztlichen Rat praktisch und theoretisch zu erteilen, und mit Medizin und Pflastern nicht geizten, verwandelte sich der Raum bald in eine Poliklinik.

Das Gerücht unsrer Ankunft verbreitete sich wie ein Lauffeuer. Von der gesamten Nachbarschaft kamen die Leute, um uns zu sehen. Unsre Person und unsrer Eigentum wurde mit gebührender Neugier betrachtet, aber nichts erregte ihr helles Erstaunen, weckte ihr lebhaftes Interesse mehr und versetzte sie in größere Verwunderung, als die Art unsers Essens. Keine unsrer Bewegungen entging ihnen; aufs lebhafteste wurde alles kom-

mentiert, und blieb ihnen etwas dunkel, so fand sich bald unter den Zuschauern ein hervorragender Geist, der vermöge seiner tieferen Einsicht in das Wesen der Dinge seine weniger erleuchteten Mitbrüder aufklärte. Ein Verständnis leuchtete dann auch in aller Augen auf, und von Mund zu Munde wurde das Zauberwort, das der Schlüssel zu unserm sonderbaren Treiben war, wiederholt: Kautah = sie essen! — Man braucht nicht nach Zentral-Hainan zu gehen, um Leute zu finden, denen Essen nicht eine Tätigkeit von sekundärer Wichtigkeit ist; ich habe aber nirgend die Tätigkeit des Essens mit größerem Interesse sozusagen analysieren und den Vorgang gewissermaßen physiologisch explizieren sehen und hören, als hier. Kautah ist unzweifelhaft den Loi eine der Haupt- und Staatsaktionen des Lebens, gewissermaßen das, was ihm Wert und Inhalt gibt.

Chio-tung ist ein nur kleines Dorf, dessen Bevölkerung zur Mehrzahl Loi sind. Es wohnen aber auch einige chinesische Kleinhändler hier. Die Häuser oder besser Hütten des Ortes sind ihrem Aussehen nach alles andre als einladend, und sie gewinnen bei näherer Bekanntschaft in keiner Weise. Die Wände bestehen aus Bambusflechwerk und sind innen und außen mit Erde beworfen. Die Dächer sind mit Stroh gedeckt. Der Platz ist von dicht bewaldeten Bergen eng unraumt und birgt in seiner Nachbarschaft manch hübschen Punkt. Bei klarem Wetter kann man von hier aus die Sieben-Finger-Berge sehen, eine Gebirgskette, die etwa 35 Li weiter westlich gelegen ist und 7 einzelne Gipfel hat. Allein alle diese Gipfel sind nur von Po-ting aus sichtbar; alle andern Orte sehen weniger, und von Chio-tung ist nur ein Gipfel sichtbar. Der Name dieser Kette ist in sich selbst eine Unmöglichkeit, und ich neige der Ansicht zu, daß derjenige, welcher diese Berge zuerst benannte, an die Konstellation der 7 Sterne gedacht hat. Durch eine fehlerhafte Aussprache hat das Volk daraus die Sieben-Finger-Berge gemacht, um sie in Einklang mit den Fünf-Finger-Bergen, Hainans größtem Stolz, zu bringen. In der Tat ist die hainanesische Aussprache der Zeichen •Finger• und •Sterne• wenig verschieden.

Die Loi-Typen, wie wir sie hier in Chio-tung trafen, blieben dieselben auf den ganzen Wege bis nach Lia-nui. Es wäre absurd, wollte man von einer Ausstattung reden, wenn man die Garderobe eines Loi-Mannes beschreibt; alles, was er besitzt, ist ein Schurz und eine Jacke. Erst seit kurzein beginnt die chinesische Kleidung Anhänger unter den Loi-Leuten zu finden. Besonders macht sich ein zivilisatorischer Einfluß von Po-ting aus bemerkbar; aber auch die chinesischen Händler, mit denen die Loi in Verbindung treten, sind die Pioniere ihrer Kultur. Daß sie nebenbei auch die Träger eines demoralisierenden Einflusses sind, ist nur eine Wiederholung von auch anderswo und unter andern Umständen beobachteten Tatsachen.

Die auf unserm Wege getroffenen Loi ahmen auch die Haartracht der Chinesen nach; sie rasieren den Kopf und tragen das Haar in einem Zopf geflochten. In andern Teilen des Landes ist die Haartracht eine verschiedene. Die Eingeborenen in der Nähe von Aichow drehen das Haar in ein Horn zusammen, welches, über der Stirn stehend, ihnen ein merk-

würdiges Aussehen gibt. Wieder andre drehen das Haar zusammen und legen es, ohne den Kopf zu rasieren, rings um den Kopf und befestigen es mit Hilfe eines Tuches, welches an Stelle eines Turbans tritt.

Nach den Gesichtszügen zu schließen, ist kein Zweifel, daß die Loi kein chinesischer Stamm sind. Wenn man auch hier und dort unter den Männern ein Gesicht findet, welches chinesisch sein könnte, so findet sich unter den Frauen der fremde Typ um so schärfer ausgeprägt. Es kann dem Besucher nicht entgehen, daß die Frauen durchweg hübsch sind. Was ihre Kleidung anbetrifft, so sind sie, wie die Männer, keineswegs überladen damit. Sie tragen einen kurzen bunten Rock, der kaum bis zu den Knien reicht und so eng ist, daß er beim Gehen den freien Schritt hemmt. Die Beine, von den Knien abwärts, sind die Füße sind bloß. Ferner tragen sie ein Jackett, dessen Ärmel eng den Arm umschließen und dessen Vorder- und Rückseite aufs lebhafteste mit bunten Stickereien bedeckt sind, deren Muster je nach Dorf und Clan verschieden sind. Um den Hals tragen sie Ketten aus Glasperlen, oft bis zu zwanzig Reihen, zu denen dann ein frei-gebiger Ehegemahl noch einige, aus dünnem Silberblech geschnittene Halsringe oft von 2—3 cm Breite fügt. Sonderbar geformte Silberohrringe vervollständigen die Ausstattung. Die glänzenden Farben der Kleidung zusammen mit dem hellen Glanze des Silberschmucks geben ein höchst anziehendes Bild und sind wohl berechnet, den hellen Teint einer Loi-Schönheit ins rechte Licht zu setzen. Die Tatsache, daß sie ihr Gesicht tätowieren, scheint das vorteilhafte Aussehen eines jungen Loi-Mädchen in keiner Weise zu beeinträchtigen; ich habe jedoch nicht finden können, daß es gerade das würdige Aussehen einer Matrone zu fördern vermag. Die beim Tätowieren Anwendung findenden Linien und Muster sind je nach Ort und Landesteil verschieden. Die Männer tätowieren sich nicht.

Am frühen Morgen unseres 13. Marschtages verabschiedeten wir uns von unseren Freunden und fanden uns bald auf dem Marsch, umgeben von dichtestem Wald. In nördlicher Richtung marschierend, stießen wir nach kurzer Zeit auf den Ling-tui-Fluß, der sich über Stein und Geröll auf seinem südlichen Laufe Bahn durch die Berge bricht. Unser Weg führt uns den Fluß entlang. Bald marschieren wir auf der Talsohle, bald führt der Weg auf einem Abhang am tief unter uns tosenden Fluß entlang. Aufstieg und Abstieg sind äußerst schwierig, und es bedarf der größten Vorsicht, um nicht durch einen Fehltritt abzustürzen. Der Weg ist ein bloßer Pfad, auf dem der Fuß zwischen Steinen, Geröll und Wurzeln seinen Halt suchen muß. Oft geht es unter mächtigen hohen Bäumen hin, oft ist der Weg von Bambushecken aufs engste eingeengt und von Schlingpflanzen wie ein Tunnel überdeckt. Die Vegetation ist äußerst üppig; von rechts und links strecken Bäume und Sträucher ihre Zweige über den Weg. Schlingpflanzen kämpfen mit mannshohem Dschungelgras um die Existenz, und oft verdecken sie den Pfad vollständig und vermehren nicht wenig die Schwierigkeiten und Gefahren des Marsches. Wir konnten uns glücklich preisen, daß unsre Reise in eine trockne Jahreszeit fiel: Gerüchten von Reisenden und Einwohnern zu glauben, bringt der Dschungelwald unzählige

Blutegel hervor, die jeden Baum, jeden Strauch, Stein, Gestrüpp und den Pfad aufs dichteste bedecken. Sie hängen sich an alles, was auf ihrem Wege entlang geht, und es ist unmöglich, sich vor ihnen zu schützen; sie saugen sich an den Beinen, Armen, sogar am Gesicht fest und bilden in der Tat den Schrecken der Reisenden und den Fluch des Landes.

Als der bei weitem schwierigste Teil unsrer Reise erwiesen sich die Flußübergänge. Wasserläufe sind zahlreich, wie nur natürlich in einem Lande von gebirgigem und waldigem Charakter. Für Monate im Jahre sind die Berge und Höhen von Wolken und Nebel eingehüllt und verdeckt. Regenfälle sind in dieser Zeit häufig, und die abstürzenden und angeschwollenen Bergströme bilden dann erneute Gefahren auf einem schon an sich nicht leichten Marsche. Der Reisende überschreitet beständig Wasserläufe von der allerverschiedensten Breite und Tiefe. Ich habe an einem Tage nicht weniger als 15 Gewässer größter und kleinster Art zu durchwaten gehabt. Einige waren nur  $\frac{1}{4}$  m tief, andre gehen bis an die Brust. Obgleich keiner dieser Wasserarme unserm Vormarsche größere Schwierigkeiten in den Weg setzte, kann ich mich auch jetzt noch nicht mit Vergnügen dieses Teiles des Reiseprogramms erinnern: der Mensch ist nun einmal kein Wassertier und erlangt jedes Verständnisses für eine in so vermehrter Häufigkeit wiederholte und mit solcher Vehemenz betriebene Wasserwaterei. Gefahren bieten diese Ströme nur in der Regenzeit. Zu andern Jahreszeiten ist ihr Überschreiten mit keiner Gefahr verbunden; aber trotzdem erfreuten sie sich in keiner Weise des Wohlwollens unsrer Träger, die dafür hielten, daß häufiges Baden der Gesundheit wenig zuträglich sein könne.

Es ist klar, daß es unter solchen Umständen wenig angebracht ist, Lederschuhe oder Stiefel zu tragen. Strohsandalen auf bloßen Füßen — die Art der Eingeborenen — dürfte wohl die empfehlenswerteste sein. Da es aber kaum jedermanns Sache ist, barfuß zu gehen, dürfte jede Art, die dieser am nächsten kommt, die beste sein. Strohsandalen geben dem Fuß bei jedem Tritt nach; sie verhindern ein Ausgleiten auf dem oft schlüpfrigen Pfade und den runden Steinen des Flußbetts, und sie allein ermöglichen einen Halt für den Fuß auf den oft steilen Felsen der Abhänge.

Es war am Abend, als wir in unserm Nachtquartier — genannt Pisui — ankamen. Auf dem Wege dorthin überschritten wir die Grenze zwischen dem Ling-tui- und dem Vang-chiu-Distrikt. Es besteht ein Volksglaube, daß ein segenwirkender Einfluß von den hohen Berggipfeln des Innern ausgeht, und wir sehen deshalb von den 13 Distrikten der Insel 9 ihre Grenzen bis an den Mittelpunkt der Insel vorschieben, um sich jeder seinen Anteil am segenspendenden Einflusse zu sichern. Die Distriktgrenzen liegen so eng wie weiland die Staatsgrenzen im heiligen römischen Reiche. Hier jedoch wird man sich der Landesgrenzen kaum bewußt; es gibt weder Grenzsteine noch Landespähle, keine Städte, kaum ein armeliges Dorf, und die vollkommene Stille dieser Einöde wird nur durch den Schrei eines schwarzen Affen gestört, der diese Wälder mit dem Hirsch, dem Bären, dem Wildschwein und mit buntgefiederten Vögeln teilt.

Pi-sui (八村) ist ein kleines Dorf, malerisch in einem Tale gelegen und wie alle Loi-Dörfer an fließendem Wasser erbaut. Hinter dem Dorf erhebt sich der Syit-Kiang-(七弓) Berg, dessen Gipfel nur mit den Fünf-Finger-Bergen an Höhe wetteifert. Wir wurden überaus herzlich eingeladen, in dem Hause des einzigen Chinesen im Dorfe zu übernachten. Diese Chinesen, die sich unter den Loi niedergelassen haben — für gewöhnlich findet man in jedem Loi-Dorf einen der Söhne Hans —, haben eine ähnliche Rolle übernommen, wie sie von den Juden gespielt wird, die sich unter der russischen Bevölkerung niedergelassen haben. Der einzige Unterschied zwischen beiden ist nur, daß der Chinese, der sich durch Ehebande an den Loi-Clan gebunden hat, seine Geschäftsmethoden weniger ergiebig findet als jener. Infolge seiner Verwandtschaft mit dem Stamm wird er nicht als Eindringling betrachtet. In Anbetracht seiner überlegenen Bildung und Klugheit und seiner Verschlagenheit hat er sich eine geachtete Stellung in seiner Gemeinde zu erringen gewußt, und er ist de facto, wenn auch nicht nominell, das Dorfoberhaupt. In Angelegenheiten allgemeinen Interesses wird sein Rat gehört, und seine Meinung ist schwerwiegend. Er ist der geschäftliche Agent für das Dorf; er vermittelt die Käufe und Verkäufe, und da er die Preise macht, ist er gewöhnlich ein recht wohlhabender Mann. Der jährliche Ernteüberschuß wird von ihm an die Küste transportiert und verkauft; er kauft für jeden seiner Klienten, was immer sie an Kleidung, Schmucksachen usw. bedürfen. Da er auch für die Männer, die alle ohne Ausnahme Jäger sind, Pulver und Gewehre kauft, so ist er ein Mann, dessen Existenz den Loi unbedingt nötig ist und der sich naturgemäß aller Achtung erfreut.

Unser Marsch am folgenden Tage führte uns im Anfang über ähnliches Gelände wie bisher; gegen Nachmittag jedoch traten wir auf eine mit hohem Schilfgrase bewachsene Ebene, die wir verfolgten, bis wir zu dem Dorf Tan-ka (銅甲) kamen, wo wir zu übernachten beabsichtigten. Um das Dorf läuft ein aus Bambusstangen errichteter Zaun, der an der Stelle, wo der Weg ihn kreuzt, niedriger wird. Um das Übersteigen dort zu erleichtern, ist an der Außen- und Innenseite des Zaunes eine zweistufige Bambusleiter angebracht. Diese Einrichtung nimmt die Stelle der Tür ein. Zwei Seitenstangen und eine Querstange, mit Bambusfaser zusammengebunden und mit zwei grünen Büscheln an jeder Seite dekoriert, ersetzen den Torbogen. Diese Einrichtung verhindert das Ausbrechen der Haustiere und dient zugleich zum Schutze gegen die Tiere des Waldes. Fremde, die zum Dorfe kommen, müssen am Tore warten, bis ihnen Zutritt gestattet ist.

Auch hier, wie fast auf allen unsern Stationen, bat eine große Anzahl von Kranken um Medizin, und der Rest des Tages wurde mit Diagnosieren und Verabreichen von Arzneien ausgefüllt. Da wir uns mit einem größeren Quantum Medizin versehen hatten, gelang es uns, in einer großen Anzahl von Fällen wirksame Hilfe zu leisten.

In Tan-ka versuchten wir, uns über unsern Marsch am nächsten Tage zu informieren. Wir beabsichtigten, das Dorf Huang-a (黃凹) an

den Fünf-Finger-Bergen zu erreichen. Die Loi jedoch besitzen die irrtümlichsten Vorstellungen von Zeit und Entfernung, und obwohl sie behaupteten, Huang-a sei 120 Li von Tan-ka entfernt, gaben sie doch zu, man könne den Platz in einem Tag erreichen. Man bedenke, 120 Li in einem Tag über schwieriges Gebirgsterain!

Wir beschlossen also, für uns selbst zu sehen, und brachen in früher Morgenstunde auf. Die Szenerie auf unsern Marsche war voll wilder Schönheit und einer Uppigkeit, wie wir sie bis jetzt noch nicht gesehen hatten. Während unsers Marsches am Vormittag waren wir von gutem Wetter begleitet. Gegen Mittag aber begann sich ein feiner Nebel zu senken, der bald das ganze Land unsern Blicken verhüllte. Der Nebel war so dicht, daß wir bei unsrer Ankunft in Huang-a nicht einmal die Richtung bestimmen konnten, wo wir die Fünf-Finger-Berge zu suchen hatten. Da es eins der Hauptobjekte unsrer Reise war, die Fünf-Finger-Berge zu sehen, beschlossen wir, den nächsten Tag in Huang-a zu bleiben, um auf das Zerteilen des Nebels zu warten. Nebel ist im Loi-Land überaus häufig. Unser Wirt in Pi-sui berichtete, daß er einst das Land für 70 Tage im Nebel gesehen habe. Die Übermenge an Wasser und der dichte Wald sind die Hauptgründe dieser Erscheinung. Es ist nur natürlich, daß solcher Zustand gesundheitsschädigend ist, und es ist durchaus nicht selten in einem Loi-Dorfe, die Hälfte der Bevölkerung sieberkrank anzutreffen. Wenn schon für die Eingeborenen die klimatischen Verhältnisse des Landes nicht günstig sind, ist es leicht zu verstehen, daß reisenden Fremden und Chinesen das Klima des Landes gefährlich wird. Trotz aller Vorsichtsmaßregeln kann man doch nicht verhindern, daß die Träger krank zurückkehren, oft sogar sterben.

Kurz nach Tagesgrauen des folgenden Tages hatte sich der Nebel etwas zerteilt, und es gelang uns, den südlichsten Gipfel des Berges klar zu sehen. Da die Kette der Fünf-Finger-Berge von Süden nach Norden läuft, ist nur ein Gipfel von hier aus sichtbar. Dieser Berg ist bis auf die Höhe dicht bewaldet; ein Aufstieg schien von hier aus nicht möglich zu sein. Die Loi-Leute betreten den Berg nicht, und es würde weder für Geld noch gute Worte gelingen, Begleiter zu finden. Sie glauben, daß loses Felsgestein, mit welchem die Abhänge bedeckt sein sollen, und tiefe Felspalten, die sich an allen Seiten des Weges öffnen, dem Wagemutigen sichern Tod bringen. Die Loi sehen eine Bestätigung ihrer Befürchtungen in dem Verschwinden zweier Priester, die den Berg von Lia-mui aus zum Anbeten bestiegen und nie wieder zurückgekehrt sind.

Huang-a liegt in einem Tale, welches in seiner Gesamtausdehnung von Feldern bedeckt ist. Die Ausbeute dieser Felder ist allem Anschein nach bedeutend größer als der lokale Verbranch, und dieser Überschuß scheint mir eine plausible Erklärung abzugeben für einen gewissen Wohlstand, der sich in der Kleidung der Leute, besonders der Frauen, bemerkbar macht; sie sind sorgfältiger und reicher gekleidet als die Loi in andern Distrikten. Die Loi treiben auch Viehzucht, allerdings nur in sehr beschränktem Maße; sie besitzen Kühe, Wasserbüffel und Schweine, auch

sieht man gelegentlich ein Pferd, doch ist sein Gebrauch bei der Natur des Landes nur sehr beschränkt. Es ist zweifellos als eine Unmöglichkeit erkannt, zu Pferde das Loi-Land zu durchreiten.

Die Häuser, die wir in Huang-a und Tau-ta bewohnten, waren wesentlich verschieden von denen, die uns Obdach in Pi-sui und Chio-tung gaben. Es bedurfte keines längeren Verweilens in unsren neuen Quartieren, um uns zu überzeugen, daß doch der Mensch höchst merkwürdige Vorstellungen von Komfort haben kann.

Die Häuser sind hier auf Pfählen in der Höhe von  $1\frac{1}{2}$  bis 2 Fuß über dem Boden erbaut: die Wände sind Bambusgeflecht, und das Dach ist mit Stroh gedeckt. Alle diese Dinge sind alltäglich, und nur der Fußboden erregte unsre Verwunderung. Zwei Reihen von fingerdicken Bambusstangen sind im rechten Winkel übereinander befestigt und bilden so eine Art Gitterwerk mit viereckigen, talergroßen Löchern. Trotz des anscheinend schwachen Materials ist das Ganze doch ziemlich fest. Die Vorteile dieser Bauart liegen nicht ganz klar zutage, dagegen sind die Nachteile um so auffallender. Es ist ein vergebliches Untersfangen, einen Stuhl oder eine Bank aufzustellen; sie stehen auf den runden Stangen nicht. In Stiefeln auf dem Bambus zu gehen, ist wegen des Ausgleitens eine größere Gefahr, als es scheint; barfuß darauf zu gehen, ist eine Pein. Zur Essenszeit kommen die Hunde und Schweine der Nachbarschaft, vom Geruch des Essens angelockt, und kriechen unter die Hütte. Ist man gerade dabei, auf dem Boden hockend, sein frugales Mahl einzunehmen, und verspürt man etwa plötzlich ein lebhaftes Jucken am bloßen Fuße, so braucht man nicht gleich an den giftigen Tausendfüßler oder die Riesenspinne zu denken; es genügt, fest zuzugreifen, und man wird bald durch ein klägliches Gewinsel überzeugt sein, daß man das buschige Ohr eines halbwilden Dorfhundes in der Hand hält, welches durch das Gitterwerk des Fußbodens hindurchsieht. — Nachts breitet man eine Decke auf dem Boden aus und versucht zu schlafen, kommt aber bald zu der Überzeugung, daß runde Bambusstangen eigentlich doch recht ungeeignete Unterlagen sind, doppelt ungeeignet, wenn, nachdem man endlich eingeschlafen ist, gegen Mitternacht ein Schwein unter der Hütte seine Schnauze durch das Gitterwerk steckt und einem das Ohr beschnuppert oder gar ins Gesicht grunzt. Trifft es sich noch gar, daß der Wind auf die Hütte trifft, so kann man sicher sein, eine böse Erkältung davonzutragen. Der Wind, der sich an den Wänden bricht, fegt mit aller Gewalt unter die Hütte und erzeugt einen wenig angenehmen Luftzug. So verbringt man in diesem Haus eine höchst elende Nacht und freut sich sehnlichst auf den Morgen.

Unter solchen Umständen konnte es uns nur angenehm sein, daß unser Aufenthalt in Huang-a seinem Ende nahte. Außerdem hatte das Wetter umgeschlagen, und es drohte zu regnen, und Regen bedeutete für uns sichere Verzögerung, vielleicht gar Krankheit. In der Tat begann es bei unsern Abmarsche zu regnen, und wir beschlossen daher, so schnell wie möglich zu marschieren, um aus den Bergen herauszukommen, da jede

Stunde Regen die Wege grundloser und die Flußübergänge gefährlicher machte.

Am 1. März brachen wir von Huang-a auf. Bei guten Märschen, rechneten wir, würde es uns möglich sein, die chinesische Ebene bei Lia-mui in 3 Tagen zu gewinnen. Wir hatten die Gewohnheit angenommen, täglich bis 4 oder 5 Uhr abends zu marschieren, und legten, je nach der Beschaffenheit der Wege, 60—80 Li zurück. Da wir in Huang-a nicht hatten in Erfahrung bringen können, welches unser Ziel an demselben Abend sein würde, beschlossen wir, selbst aufzupassen. Wir hatten in Huang-a einige neue Träger angenommen; durch ein Mißverständnis schienen diese unter dem Eindruck zu stehen, daß unser Reiseziel das Dorf Hap-lua (合竈) sei, welches wir schon gegen Mittag erreichten. Da wir uns jedoch weigerten, dort zu übernachten, sondern auf beschleunigten Weitermarsch drangen, verschwanden die Loi-Kulis und hatten, noch ehe wir ihre Abwesenheit bemerkten, allein den Rückmarsch angetreten. Es blieb mir nichts weiter übrig, als die zurückgelassenen Lasten unter meine Leute zu verteilen und selbst einen Teil auf mich zu nehmen, wollten wir nicht vorziehen, hier im Dorfe zu bleiben und am Morgen neue Träger anzunehmen. Zur Zeit waren alle Leute auf den Feldern und niemand außer einem alten Manne zu sehen. Mit seiner Hilfe wagten wir den Weitermarsch, der unter beständigem Regen auf den schon überaus schlüpfrigen Bergpfaden mit aller Eile angetreten wurde. Der Weg war überaus schwierig und führte meist über öde kahle Berghöhen, über die ein kalter Nord mit aller Gewalt strich. Heiß und erschöpft von der Anstrengung des Kletterns erreicht man den Gipfel und wird dort von den feuchten kalten Winde gepackt: schwerste Erkältung ist die sichere Folge eines Marsches unter solchen Bedingungen. Nebel hatte seit Mittag sich wieder um die Höhen gelagert, und er blieb unserer treuer Reisebegleiter, bis wir bei Lia-mui in die chinesische Ebene hinabstiegen.

Gegen 5 Uhr abends erreichten wir endlich das Dorf Tan-a-mui (丹拿門), wo uns die überaus armselige Kleidung der Bevölkerung als in schärfstem Gegensatz zu derjenigen der Bevölkerung von Huang-a stehend, auffiel. Trotz des schwierigen Pfades auf unserm heutigen Marsche war es uns doch nicht entgangen, daß unser Weg beständig abstieg. Es regnete wiederum heftig während der Nacht, und noch waren wir 2 Tage von Lia-mui entfernt. Unsere Reise war an diesem Punkte alles andere als angenehm: die Straßen schlecht, Unterkunft und Verpflegung elend, und beständiger Regen ließ sogar unsre Träger das Elend unsrer Lage fühlen und trieb sie zur größten Anspannung an, um so schnell wie möglich wieder auf chinesischem Boden zu sein.

Der folgende Tagesmarsch wurde unter ähnlichen Umständen vollbracht. Das Land war öde und zeigte nur mit hohem Jungelgras bewachsene Hügel und höchstens einen vereinzelten Maulbeerbaum. Die Männer und Frauen, die wir auf unserm Wege trafen, waren, obwohl sie

schon wieder chinesische Kleidung trugen, doch noch entschieden zu den Loi-Leuten zu rechnen.

Wir erreichten endlich, vom Regen bis auf die Haut durchnäßt, unser Quartier in Tyin-hsi (新市), woselbst wir die Nacht in einer elenden Hütte verbrachten. Tyin-hsi ist ein vor mehreren Jahrzehnten eröffneter Platz, und seine Bevölkerung setzt sich je zur Hälfte aus Loi und Chinesen zusammen. Der Ort enthält mehrere Steinhäuser und erinnert den Reisenden daran, daß er sich wieder der Zivilisation nähert.

Da wir uns nur 40 Li von Lia-mui befanden, beeilten wir uns am nächsten Tage mit unserm Aufbruche nicht, sondern verließen erst gegen 9 Uhr unser Quartier. Wir erreichten erst gegen Abend die Stadt Lia-mui. Die Situation hatte sich in keiner Weise geändert: Regen, Nebel und unergründlich gewordene Wege stimmten uns dankbar, als wir die Dächer von Lia-mui erblickten.

Lia-mui (嶺門), treu seiner Benennung, ist das »Tor der Berge«. Der Ort liegt in den Vorbergen des Loi-Landes und ist neben Ka-cheek und Ling-tui einer der Hauptzufahrtsmärkte für das Loi-Land. Die Stadt ist klein und sah an dem trüben Nachmittag unserer Ankunft traurig und elend aus. Chinesisches Beamtenamt ist in der Einrichtung des Verwaltungsamtes für das Loi-Land (撫黎局) vertreten, doch scheint sein Einfluß nach der Unabhängigkeit der einzelnen Stämme zu schließen, nur sehr gering zu sein. Wir kamen in einem kleinen Gasthaus unter, wo es uns gelang, eine leidliche Ruhe zu finden.

Lia-mui ist 180 Li von Ting-an entfernt, eine Distanz, die Reisende für gewöhnlich in 2 Tagen durchheilen. Unsre Träger aber, die seit ihrer Rückkehr auf chinesischen Boden keinen weiteren Grund für Eilmärkte sahen, weigerten sich, diese Strecke in der gegebenen Zeit zurückzulegen.

Die erste Nacht verbrachten wir in Huen-hsiang (屯昌), nachdem wir auf dem Wege die Orte Fo-mok (坡木) und Nam-lu (南路) passiert hatten. Nam-lu ist ein nicht unbedeutender Platz. Auf unsern Marsche sahen wir zahlreiche Betelnüßpflanzungen. Nahe bei Lia-mui ist eine Bergkette, genannt Loi-mai-lia (黎母嶺), die von einem Loi-Stamme bewohnt wird, der sich in Kleidung und Sitten von den übrigen Loi unterscheidet und dessen Frauen sich auch in eigner Weise tätowieren.

Am zweiten Tage erreichten wir via Tua-vae (山馬) und Tyinhing (新興) das Dorf Tyin-ngou (新吳), welches an einem Quellflusse des Faotai-Flusses gelegen ist. Hier findet man für gewöhnlich Boote bereit, nach Hoihow zurückzukehren. Allein, da eine Theatertruppe in der Nähe spielte, war kein Boot willig, sofort zu fahren, und wir mußten uns entschließen, am nächsten Morgen bis Ting-an zu gehen.

Wir verbrachten die Nacht in einem Privathause, da der Ort so klein ist, daß er sich nicht einmal eines Gasthauses rühmen kann. Am Morgen des 6. März brachen wir um 5 Uhr auf und erreichten gegen 9 Uhr Ting-an.

(定安). Da aber auch dort eine Theatertruppe spielte, waren fast alle Boote von Landleuten gemietet worden, die zu vielen Tausenden — wie hierzulande üblich — herbeigeströmt waren, um das Schauspiel zu sehen. Erst nach bedeutenden Schwierigkeiten gelang es uns, ein Boot zu finden, welches, da eben jede Konkurrenz fehlte, uns für den nicht unbedeutenden Preis von 12 Schilling nach Hoihow brachte. Da der übliche Preis für eine Fahrt auf dem Passagierboot 150 Käsch und die Miete für Alleinbenutzung eines Bootes zwischen 4 und 6 Schilling schwankt, konnten wir uns nicht rühmen, billig gefahren zu sein. Allein wir waren nur zu willig, zu zahlen und priesen uns glücklich, als wir endlich gegen Mittag abfuhrten. Wir fühlten, wir besaßen eine genügend eingehende Kenntnis von chinesischem Gasthausleben und chinesischer Kost, um eine Fortsetzung über das absolut notwendige Maß hinans zur Zeit noch als wünschenswert zu erachten.

Am Morgen des 7. März erreichten wir nach einer bitterkalten Nacht auf dem Wasser Hoihow, nachdem wir 22 Tage unterwegs gewesen waren.

So weit meine Reise. Ich würde jedoch meinen Bericht für unvollständig ansehen, wäre es mir nicht gestattet, einige Bemerkungen über den allgemeinen Zustand des Landes, seine Hilfsquellen und seine Entwicklungsfähigkeit hinzuzufügen.

Der allgemeine Eindruck, den der Reisende von der Insel gewinnt, geht dahin, daß der Boden zwar fruchtbar, aber ohne Kultur ist. In der Nähe von Niederlassungen ist das Land oft meilenweit wohl angebaut, weiter entfernt jedoch führt der Weg bisweilen stundenlang über grasbewachsene Ebenen, die nur hier und dort wenig Anbau aufweisen und diesen nur in den tieferliegenden Teilen, wo sich auch meist Wasser befindet. Naturgemäß sind solche Stellen die fruchtbarsten und versprechen bei verhältnismäßig geringer Arbeit die reichste Ausbeute. Man kann sich des Eindrucks nicht erwehren, daß es viel mehr anbaufähiges Land in Hainan gibt, als Leute vorhanden sind, die die Bebauung zu unternehmen gewillt sind.

Bei der viele Jahrhunderte alten chinesischen Herrschaft auf Hainan scheint ein solcher Zustand sonderbar, zumal man den gewöhnlichen Chinesen kaum für einen Bekener Malthusianischer Lehren halten kann. Die einstigen Streitigkeiten zwischen Loi und Chinesen bieten für den Zustand des Landes kaum eine Erklärung. Die bedeutendsten Strecken öden Landes finden sich in dem flachen Norden der Insel, dessen Ebene niemals Szene von Loi-Kämpfen gewesen ist. Jene Gegenden dagegen, die unter dem unruhigen Zustande des Landes zu leiden gehabt haben — die südlichen Küstendistrikte besonders —, sind meist wohl angebaut. Man muß deshalb andre Ursachen zur Erklärung annehmen, von denen ich nur die beiden wichtigsten im folgenden kurz anfühe.

Wie nur natürlich mit einer Inselbevölkerung, ist dieselbe leichter Auswanderungsgedanken geneigt als die Bevölkerung des Binnenlandes. Von alters her sind die Hainanesen ins Ausland gegangen, und sie sind heute auf den Arbeitsmärkten in Singapore, Holländisch-Indien und Hongkong wohlbekannte und begehrte Arbeiter. Sie haben sich gewöhnt, auf die Auswanderung als eine feste Einrichtung zu blicken, welche ihnen ermöglicht, ein genügend großes Kapital zu erwerben, welches sie für den Rest ihres Lebens vor der härtesten Not und Arbeit schützt. Die Auswanderung findet von hier meist zu Dampfschiff statt; allein es gibt auch Auswanderer, welche die Insel in Dschunken verlassen. Während man der Zahl der Auswanderer zu Dampfer eine fast gleich große Anzahl von auf dieselbe Weise zurückkehrenden Auswandrern gegenüberstellen kann, gibt es keinerlei Statistiken, welche die Zahl der in Dschunken das Land verlassenden und zurückkehrenden Auswanderer verzeichnen. Man glaubt jedoch, daß nur eine beschränkte Anzahl dieser Leute jemals wieder in ihre Heimat zurückkehrt.

Wie viele Auswanderer Vermögen erwerben und somit das Ziel ihrer Wünsche erreichen, ist nicht unsre Aufgabe, hier zu untersuchen; es ist jedoch klar, daß die Erfahrungen im Auslande den Auswanderer weniger denn je geneigt machen, nach seiner Rückkehr mit seiner eignen Hände Arbeit den väterlichen Grund und Boden zu bebauen. Nicht nur sind die Auswanderer an verhältnismäßig leichten Verdienst gewöhnt, sie sind auch gewöhnt, den Lohn ihrer Arbeit in kürzester Zeit in klingender Münze vor sich zu sehen. Dadurch, daß das Leben dem Auswanderer in der Kauffähigkeit seines leicht und prompt erworbenen Verdienstes neue Möglichkeiten eröffnet hat, hat es sich ihm besonders angenehm gestaltet. Nach seiner Rückkehr ins Vaterland hofft der Chinese, sich geschäftlich betätigen zu können, und sein lebhafter Wunsch — nicht unverständlich — ist es, die Rolle eines *\*master\** spielen zu können. Jedenfalls liegt es außerhalb des Bereichs seiner Pläne, zur Hacke und zum Spaten zu greifen, um sein väterliches Besitztum auszudehnen oder in die Höhe zu bringen. Nichts ist unsicherer als Ackerbau. Seine Arbeit im Felde mag sich hundertfältig bezahlt machen, sie kann aber auch völlig resultlos sein: das alles hängt von Faktoren ab, die außerhalb menschlicher Berechnungen liegen.

Die Hauptarbeit, sei es im Hause, sei es auf dem Felde, wird von Frauen verrichtet. Die Zahl der arbeitenden Frauen erscheint sogar bei oberflächlicher Betrachtung sehr bedeutend. Man sieht die Frauen in langen Reihen am frühen Morgen schwer tragend von ihren Dörfern in die Stadt kommen; gehen sie später zurück, so sieht man sie wiederum ebenso schwer bepackt wie am Morgen. Es ist eine gewöhnliche Erscheinung, daß der Mann im tropischen Klima sich weniger zur Arbeit drängt als in kälteren Breiten; allein nach meinen eignen Erfahrungen zu schließen, versteht sich der Hainanese in besonderer Weise auf der Kunst, die Arbeit zu meiden.

Unter solchen Umständen sollte der oben beschriebene Zustand des Landes nicht Wunder nehmen.

Man hat Hainan die »Insel der Palmen« genannt und hat damit eine sehr treffende Benennung geschaffen. Klima und Boden wetteifern, um den Palmbaum in vollendet Pracht und Schönheit hervorzu bringen. Dem Hainanesen jedoch hat sich der in der Palme liegende Reichtum nur unvollkommen geoffenbart: er schätzt an der Kokosnuss den Kern, und er schnitt aus der Schale kleine Tee- und Weinschälchen. Sonst weiß er nicht allzuviel mit dem Baume anzufangen. Erwägen wir, daß der Hauptausfuhrartikel aus vielen Südseeinseln die Produkte der Kokospalme sind, und der Wert dieser Inseln oft nur auf der Produktion dieses einen Artikels beruht, so ist es zu verwundern, daß der ewig rechnende Chinese den in diesem Baume liegenden Wert nicht erkannt hat, und der Europäer sich dieses Gebiet noch nicht zu eigen gemacht hat.

Bei diesem Zustand allgemeiner Interessenlosigkeit an der Produktionsfähigkeit der Insel bedarf es keiner Versicherung, daß ihr Mineralreichtum völlig unerforscht ist. So viel ist jedoch sicher, daß Erze vorkommen. Zinn wird an der Südwestküste abgebaut und Gold an der Westküste an verschiedenen Stellen gewaschen. Allein alle diese Unternehmungen sind privater Natur und werden mit den primitivsten Methoden betrieben, erfreuen sich aber offizieller Sanktion.

So sehen wir auch hier wie oben die Schätze des Bodens mit — man möchte sagen — strafbarer Indifferenz behandelt, und es darf auch nicht wundernehmen, daß wir keinerlei Schritte getan finden, um dem Handel die Wege durch Verbesserung der Kommunikationsmittel zu bahnen.

Straßen gehören in Hainan zu den unbekannten Dingen. Die Städte der Insel sind untereinander durch Pfade verbunden, die ein lebhafter Verkehr ausgetreten hat. So ist auch die Hauptstraße, die Hoihow und Kiung-chow mit den Städten der Insel verbindet, und so ist die Straße beschaffen, die die wichtigen Städte Ka-check und Ling-tui mit Hoihow verbindet. Es ist dieselbe Straße, die eine französische Karte »la route mandarine« nennt, eine Bezeichnung, die dem Wissenden nur ein Lächeln abnötigen kann; ein Pfad, krumm und gewunden, bergauf und bergab, bald eben, bald steil, über Geröll, durchs Wasser, durch das dichteste Unterholz eines Dschungelwaldes: das ist die »via regia« Hainans.

Wasserverbindungen sind auf der Insel nicht weniger traurig. Es gibt genug kleinere und fünf größere Flüsse, von denen die gewöhnliche Karte nur wenig weiß. Aber diese Flüsse sind meist flach und versandet, und obwohl der eine oder der andre der Wasserläufe, wenn er erst besser erforscht ist, mit Nutzen als Eingangsstraße in das Innere dienen kann, kann man doch eine Schiffsbarmachung für größere Fahrzeuge nicht erwarten. Zur Zeit werden diese Flüsse von Booten von der Größe der »West River Boats« befahren; einige dieser Wasseraudern reichen aber auch nur für Boote von der Größe eines Ruderboots aus.

Bei dem vollständigen Mangel an natürlichen Verkehrsmitteln gewinnt der oft besprochene Plan des Baues einer Eisenbahn an Wert. Die Besorgnisse, die man allgemein in betreff der Ausführbarkeit des Planes gehegt hat, scheinen mir unbegründete zu sein. Die empfehlenswerteste

Route dürfte die Verbindung des Hafens von Hoilow mit den großen Städten der Ostküste sein. Das Land bis Vang-chin bietet nur geringe Steigungen, und nur südlich von Vang-chiu treten die Berge an die See heran. Aber selbst dort dürften die Schwierigkeiten kaum unüberwindliche sein. Wenn man durch eine Seitenlinie Ka-check mit Lia-mui verbinden würde, so wären damit die zentralen Distrikte der Insel geöffnet, und eine Weiterführung der Linie bis zu einem Platz an der Westküste würde den Produkten der ganzen Insel einen Ausgangsweg an die Küste öffnen.

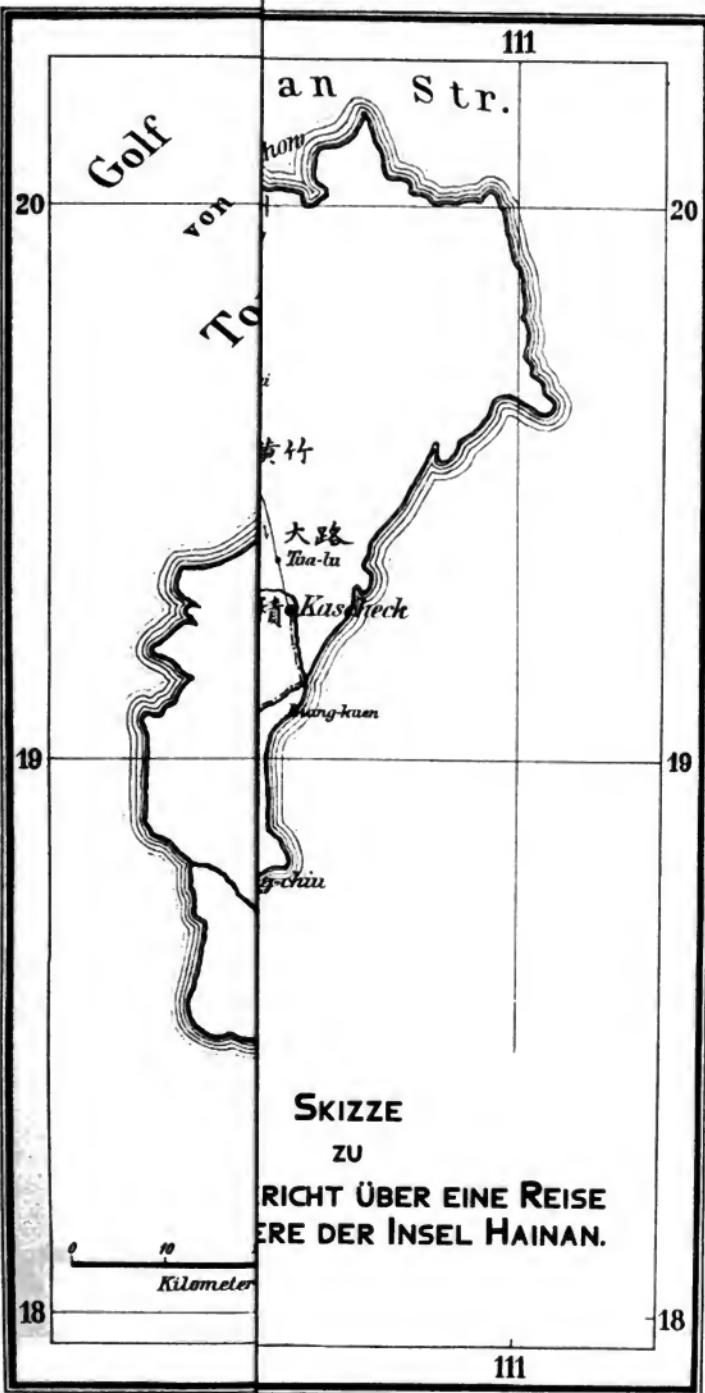
Aber jeder Eisenbahnbau und jede Verbesserung der Wege oder Wasseradern müßte als verfrüht angesehen werden, solange die Produktivität Hainans auf einer so niedrigen Stufe wie jetzt stehen bleibt. Solange die Auswanderung dem Lande den besten Teil seiner Bevölkerung, gewissermaßen seine Lebenskraft, entzieht, ist auf eine Entwicklung in größerem Stil nicht zu hoffen. Der Nutzen, den Hainan nach anderer Ansicht aus der Auswanderung ziehen soll, ist mir nicht ersichtlich.

Soweit habe ich mich nur mit demjenigen Teile Hainans beschäftigt, der von Chinesen bewohnt wird und nur in Frage kommen kann, wenn von einer Entwicklung zur Zeit die Rede ist. Es erübrigt nur noch, einige Worte über das Loi-Land hinzuzufügen.

Die Hindernisse, die einer Entwicklung der Loi-Distrikte der Insel entgegenstehen, sind zweifacher Natur, nämlich der gebirgige Charakter des Landes und der alte Haß zwischen Loi und Chinesen.

Im obigen habe ich versucht, eine möglichst getrenne Beschreibung des Loi-Landes zu geben; es genügt hier, nur kurz zusammenzufassen. Die Wege sind bloße Pfade, oft eng und steil; der Transport ist langsam, und alle Lasten müssen von Menschen getragen werden. Die Bäche und Flüsse sind wilde Bergströme, die über Steine in unzähligen Stromschnellen und Wasserfällen ihren Weg durch die Berge nehmen: als Verkehrswege sind sie nicht zu denken. Der südliche Teil des Loi-Landes ist reich an üppiger Vegetation, und sein Baumbestand ist bedeutend. In seinen Grenzen wächst auch die Teeplantage wild, und zwar tritt sie stellenweise — z. B. an den Südabhängen der Fünf-Finger-Berge — überaus zahlreich auf. Dieser Teil des Landes dürfte einst mit Vorteil dem Handel geöffnet werden, aber das von den Fünf-Finger-Bergen nördlich gelegene Gebiet ist arm und öde und Handelsaussichten dort nur gering.

Zu diesen Hindernissen, welche die Natur einem Vordringen in jene Gebiete entgegengestellt hat, kommt noch der alte Haß zwischen Loi und Chinesen. Obwohl in neuerer Zeit die Fehde zwischen beiden Völkern mildere Formen angenommen hat, und es den Anschein hat, als ob die chinesische Kultur sich die Loi unterwerfen wird, ist das Land selbst doch noch den Chinesen verschlossen. Doch mit dem Vordringen chinesischen Einflusses muß auch das Land allmählich geöffnet werden, und die von chinesischen Heerführern erträumte Eroberung wird sich in wesentlich anderer Weise, als gedacht, vollziehen: nicht mit Pfeil und Speer oder modern mit dem aufgespitzten Bajonett wird man sich Eingang in das



Land verschaffen, sondern durch die zwar langsamere, aber stärkere Waffe überlegener Kultur wird der Weg gebahnt werden.

Nach dem bisher Gesagten scheint mir die Ansicht derer, welche Hainan ein reiches Land nennen, eine keineswegs irrage zu sein. Es ist aber bei unsrer mangelhaften Kenntnis der Insel durchaus nicht zu verwundern, wenn sich auch Leute finden, welche einer gegenteiligen Meinung huldigen. Es steht nur zu wünschen, daß, sollte einst jemand eine Durchforschung der Insel zu unternehmen gewillt sein, er bei denen, welche die Macht zu helfen und zu unterstützen haben, auf Verständnis und Würdigung seiner schwierigen Aufgabe rechnen kann.

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## Die Erzeugnisse der Provinz Tschili.

Zusammengestellt auf Grund der im 30. Jahre Kuang-hsü (1904) vom Generalgouverneur eingeforderten Berichte der Departements und Kreise.

Von Dr. HAUER.

### Organisation der Verwaltung in der Provinz Tschili.

Die einem Generalgouverneur als selbständiges Generalgouvernement unterstellte Provinz Tschili gliedert sich — wie alle Provinzen des Reichs — in Präfekturen (府 fu), Departements (州 chou) und Kreise (縣 hsien). Die Normaleinheit der Präfekturen wird nach oben hin noch einzeln oder zu zweien oder dreien zu Inspektionen (道 tao) zusammengefaßt, denen ein Inspekteur oder Taotai (道臺 tao-t'ai) vorsteht. Nach unten zerfallen die Präfekturen in Departements (wichtige Verwaltungsbezirke) und daneben in Kreise (gewöhnliche Verwaltungsbezirke). Außerdem bestehen noch an der mongolischen Grenze 4 Distrikte (廳 t'ing), die eine halbe Militärverwaltung haben, hier aber nicht interessieren.

Gegenwärtig zählt die Provinz 7 Inspektionen, 12 Präfekturen, 4 Distrikte, 23 Departements und 122 Kreise.

### Alphabetisches Verzeichnis der Departements und Kreise der Provinz Tschili.

(Die beigefügte Zahl verweist auf die fortlaufende Nummer in der Zusammenstellung; eine 0 bedeutet, daß die betreffende Behörde ihren Bericht nicht rechtzeitig eingereicht hat.)

An - chou	41	Ch'êng - tê - fu	49	Chin - chou	84
An - p'ing - hsien	103	Chi - chou	23	Ching - chou	63
An - su - hsien	29	Chi - chou	88	Ching - hai - hsien	69
Ch'ang - li - hsien	0	Chi - tsê - hsien	0	Ching - hsing - hsien	76
Ch'ang - p'ing - chou	13	Ch'i - chou	39	Ch'ing - hsien	68
Ch'ang - yüan - hsien	118	Chiao - ho - hsien	61	Ch'ing - fêng - hsien	116
Chao - chou	94	Chien - ch'ang - hsien	53	Ch'ing - ho - hsien	0
Chao - yang - hsien	55	Chien - an - hsien	0	Ch'ing - yüan - hsien	27
Chêng - ting - hsien	74	Chih - ch'êng - hsien	0	Ch'ing - yün - hsien	73
Ch'êng - an - hsien	0	Chih - fêng - hsien	0	Cho - chou	17

Chü - lu - hsien	109	Kuang - p'ing - hsien	0	Su - ning - hsien	59
Ch'u - chou - hsien	0	Kuang - tsung - hsien	108	Ta - ch'eng - hsien	21
Ch'u - yang - hsien	48	Lai - shui - hsien	44	Ta - hsing - hsien	1
Fang - shan - hsien	18	Li - hsien	37	Ta - ming - hsien	113
Fei - hsiang - hsien	0	Liang - hsiang - hsien	3	T'ang - hsien	32
Feng - jun - hsien	0	Lin - ch'eng - hsien	98	T'ang - shan - hsien	110
Feng - ning - hsien	52	Lin - yü - hsien	0	T'ien - ching - hsien	67
Fou - ch'eng - hsien	58	Ling - shou - hsien	80	Ting - chou	47
Fu - ning - hsien	0	Lo - ting - hsien	0	Ting - hsing - hsien	30
Fu - p'ing - hsien	77	Lu - lung - hsien	0	Tsan - huang - hsien	83
Han - tan - hsien	0	Luan - chou	0	Ts'ang - chou	70
Heung - shui - hsien	93	Luan - ch'eng - hsien	78	Tsao - ch'iang - hsien	91
Ho - chien - hsien	56	Luan - p'ing - hsien	50	Tsun - hua - chou	25
Huai - an - hsien	0	Lung - mien - hsien	0	Tung - an - hsien	6
Huai - jou - hsien	0	Lung - p'ing - hsien	96	Tung - kuang - hsien	66
Huai - lai - hsien	16	Man - ch'eng - hsien	28	Tung - ming - hsien	119
Huo - lu - hsien	75	Mi - yüu - hsien	15	Tung - chou	8
Hsi - ning - hsien	0	Nan - ho - hsien	106	Tz'e - chou	0
Hsiang - ho - hsien	7	Nan - kung - hsien	89	Tz'e - lu - hsien	40
Hsien - hsien	57	Nan - lo - hsien	115	Wan - hsien	36
Hsin - an - hsien	0	Nan - p'i - hsien	71	Wan - ch'ian - hsien	0
Hsin - ch'eng - hsien	31	Nei - ch'iu - hsien	111	Wan - p'ing - hsien	2
Hsin - ho - hsien	90	Ning - chin - hsien	99	Wang - tu - hsien	34
Hsin - lo - hsien	87	Ning - ching - hsien	62	Wei - hsien	0
Hsing - t'ai - hsien	104	Ning - ho - hsien	12	Wen - an - hsion	20
Hsing - t'ang - hsien	79	Pa - chou	19	Wu - chi - hsien	85
Hsiung - hsien	38	Pao - an - chou	0	Wu - ch'iang - hsien	101
Hsuan - hua - hsien	0	Pao - ch'i - hsien	11	Wu - ch'iao - hsien	64
I - chou	43	Pao - ting - hsien	22	Wu - ch'ing - hsien	10
Jao - yang - hsien	102	P'ing - ch'uan - chou	51	Wu - yi - hsien	92
Jen - hsien	112	P'ing - hsiang - hsien	107	Yen - ch'ing - chou	0
Jen - ch'iu - hsien	60	P'ing - ku - hsien	24	Yen - shun - hsien	72
Jung - ch'eng - hsien	35	P'ing - shan - hsien	81	Yü - chou	0
K'ai - chou	117	Po - hsiang - hsien	95	Yü - t'ien - hsien	26
Kao - ch'eng - hsien	86	Po - yieh - hsien	33	Yüan - ch'eng - hsien	114
Kao - yang - hsien	42	San - ho - hsien	9	Yüan - shih - hsien	82
Kao - yi - hsien	97	Sha - ho - hsien	105	Yung - ch'ing - hsien	5
Ku - an - hsien	4	Shen - chou	100	Yung - nien - hsien	0
Ku - ch'eng - hsien	65	Shen - ts'e - hsien	46		
Kuang - ch'ang - hsien	45	Shun - i - hsien	14		

## Münzen, Maße und Gewichte.

Bei dem unendlichen Chaos, das in diesen Dingen nicht nur im Reiche, sondern selbst innerhalb einzelner Provinzen herrscht, ist es nur möglich, einigermaßen annähernde Gegenwerte anzugeben. Gibt es doch in Tschili nicht weniger als sechs Sorten Taels und vier verschiedene Längenmaße. Neben einigen verwerteten eigenen Erfahrungen sind im folgenden als ungefähres Mittel die Umrechnungen des Kaiserlich Chinesischen Seezollamts wiedergegeben worden.

## I. Münzen.

1 Käsch (文 *wén* oder 制錢 *chih-ch'ien*) = etwa  $\frac{1}{4}$  Pfennig.

1 Peking-Käsch (大錢 *ta-ch'ien*), größer geprägt (aus Kupferlegierung), war ursprünglich nominell gleich 10 gewöhnlichen Käsch, wurde in den sechziger Jahren mit Zwangskurs = 20 Käsch gesetzt, hat diesen aber nie einhalten können. Gegenwärtig erhält man beim Umwechseln für 1 Dollar (= 2,14 Mark) 400—450 Peking-Käsch oder 973 kleine Käsch.

1 Tiao in Peking = 50 Peking-Käsch. In den Provinzen werden 1000 gewöhnliche Käsch, mit örtlichen Abweichungen, ein Tiao genannt.

1 Tael = 3,20 Mark.

## 2. Maße.

1 Fuß (尺 *ch'ih*) = 0,358 m. 1 Li (里) = 619,25 m.

1 Morgen (畝 *mou*) =  $\frac{1}{8}$  englischen Acre.

## 3. Gewichte.

1 Unze (兩 *liang*) = 37,783 g. 1 Catty (斤 *chin*) = 16 Unzen.

1 Picul (担 *tan*) = 100 Catties.

## 1. Kreis Ta-hsing-hsien (大興縣) = Peking-Ost.

Die Adern des Landes sind arm an Nährkraft und die Erzeugnisse des Kreises gering an Zahl. Dazu kommt, daß der Yung-ting-Fluß gelegentlich der großen Überschwemmung vor zehn Jahren weite Strecken Kulturlandes verwüstet und mit Sand bedeckt hat. Größtenteils werden nur die gewöhnlichen Kornarten angebaut. Die Gewerbtätigkeit beruht ganz auf der Landwirtschaft.

## A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

Maulbeerbäume (桑 *sang*),

Die fünf Kornarten (五穀 *wu-ku*, nämlich Hanf, Weizen, Reis, Hirse und Hülsenfrüchte),

Bohnen (荳 *tou*),

Mais (玉米 *yü-mi*),

Sesam (芝麻 *chih-ma*),

Ölrettich (菜菔 *lai-fu*, *Raphanus sativus oleiferus*),

Wanzenkraut (蕪荽 *wan-sui*, *Coriandrum sativum L.*),

Spinat (菠菜 *po-ts'ai*, *Spinacia oleacea L.*),

Senf (芥菜 *chieh-ts'ai*),

Gurken und Kürbisse (瓜 *kua*),

Fenchel (茴香 *hui-hsiang*, *Foeniculum dulce L.*),

Eierpflanzen (茄 *ch'ieh*, *Solanum melongena*),

Weißkohl (白菜 *pai-ts'ai*, *Brassica campestris L. var.*),

Tabak (菸 *yü*),

Nadelhölzer der Gattung Pinus (松 *sung*),

Zypressen und Lebensbäume (柏 *po*),

Pappeln (楊 *yang*),

Weiden (柳 *liu*),

Ulmen (榆 <i>yü</i> ),	Birnen (梨 <i>li</i> ).
Sophora japonica L. (槐 <i>huai</i> , stattlicher Baum, aus dessen Blüten ein gelber Farbstoff gewonnen wird und dessen Samen als Mittel gegen Hämorrhoiden dienen),	Pfirsiche (桃 <i>t'ao</i> ),
Weintrauben (葡萄 <i>p'u-t'ao</i> ),	Aprikosen (杏 <i>hsing</i> ),
Erdnüsse (花生 <i>hua-shéng</i> ),	Jujuben (棗 <i>tsao</i> , <i>Zizyphus vulgaris</i> in mehreren kultivierten Abarten),
	Baumwolle (棉花 <i>mien-hua</i> ),
	Holzkohle (炭 <i>t'an</i> ).

## B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Weidenkörbe, Schilfrohrmatten.  
Alle Erzeugnisse werden an Ort und Stelle verbraucht.

## 2. Kreis Wan-p'ing-hsien (宛平縣).

Haupterwerbsquelle sind die kleinen Kohlengruben im Westen, obwohl sie — nur durch Menschenkraft ausgebeutet — keine großen Erträge liefern und die Kohle nur bis Peking ausgeführt wird. Außerdem werden Feldfrüchte in großer Zahl gebaut. Das Gewerbe beschränkt sich auf die Herstellung landwirtschaftlicher Geräte.

Erzeugnis	Preis pro Picul	Absatz	Bemerkungen
Kohle . . .	0,22—0,27 Tael	über 200 000 Picul nach Peking	über 5 000 Arbeiter beschäftigt
Holzkohle .	20—30 Wén	über 2 000 Picul nach Peking	über 100 Familien in Chao-ts'un und Umgegend

Erzeugnis	Preis pro Catty <sup>1</sup>	Absatz
Aprikosen (杏子 <i>hsing-tzë</i> ) . . . . .	30—40 Wén	6—700 Catty an Ort und Stelle
Getrocknete Aprikosen (杏乾 <i>hsing-kan</i> ) . . . . .	0,20—0,30 Tael	6—7 000 Catty nach Peking
Aprikosenerne (杏仁 <i>hsing-jün</i> ) . . . . .	0,31—0,32 Tael	über 10 000 Catty nach Peking
Persimonen (柿子 <i>shih-tzë</i> , <i>Diospyrus kaki</i> ) . . . . .	30—40 Wén	700 Catty an Ort und Stelle
Getrocknete Persimonen (柿乾 <i>shih-kan</i> ) . . . . .	0,15—0,16 Tael	3 000 Catty nach Peking
Pfirsiche (桃子 <i>t'ao-tzë</i> ) . . . . .	70—80 Wén	6—700 Catty an Ort und Stelle

<sup>1</sup> Wén = Käsch.

Erzeugnis	Preis pro Catty	Absatz
Getrocknete Pfirsiche (桃乾 <i>t'ao-kan</i> ) . . . . .	über 100 Wén	
Gelbe Duftbirnen (黃香梨 <i>huang-hsiang-li</i> ) . . . . .	600 . . .	600—700 Catty an Ort und Stelle
Edelbirnen (雅梨 <i>ya-li</i> ) . . . . .	600 . . .	
Rotfrüchte (紅菓 <i>hung-kuo</i> oder 山裏紅 <i>shan-li-hung</i> - das Rote in den Bergen, <i>Crataegus pinnatifida</i> ) . . . . .	—	—
Rote Jujuben (紅棗 <i>hung-tsao</i> ) . . . . .	—	—
Junge Weidenstämme <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	pro Stück 200 Wén	über 1000 Stück

### 3. Kreis Liang-hsiang-hsien (良鄉縣).

Die Erzeugnisse des Kreises sind lediglich landwirtschaftlicher Art. Im Südosten liegen weite Strecken von Schwemmsand, wo nichts wächst. Im nächsten Frühjahr (1905) sollen Maulbeerbaumstecklinge zur Verteilung gelangen, um die Bevölkerung zur Maulbeerbaumzucht zu ermuntern.

Erzeugnis	Preis pro Picul	Ertrag
Weißweizen (白麥 <i>po-mai</i> ) . . . . .	3,70 Taels	13 000 Picul
Rotweizen (紅麥 <i>hung-mai</i> ) . . . . .	3,50 .	17 000 .
Kolbenhirse (粟 <i>su</i> , <i>Setaria italica</i> ) . . . . .	2,10 .	19 000 .
Mais (玉米 <i>yü-mi</i> ) . . . . .	2,20 .	14 000 .
Buchweizen (蕎麥 <i>ch'iao-mai</i> ) . . . . .	2,30 .	15 000 .
Kaoliang (高粱 <i>kao-liang</i> , <i>Sorghum vulgare</i> )	2,10 .	12 000 .
Schwarze Bohnen (黑豆 <i>hei-tou</i> ) . . . . .	2,40 .	16 000 .
Gelbe Bohnen (黃豆 <i>huang-tou</i> ) . . . . .	2,30 .	2 300 .
Linsen (菜豆 <i>lu-tou</i> ) . . . . .	2,50 .	2 500 .
Hirse (黍 <i>shu</i> , <i>Panicum miliaceum L.</i> ) . . . . .	2,80 .	1 800 .

Alle Erzeugnisse werden an Ort und Stelle verbraucht.

### 4. Kreis Ku-an-hsien (固安縣).

Der Boden ist wenig zur Landwirtschaft geeignet, da weite Strecken von Sand und Salzerde überwiegen. Nur die Weidenbaumzucht und die

<sup>1</sup> Im Süden von Peking bei Nan-shih-tai-ts'un (南石岱村) und Umgegend.

<sup>2</sup> Bei Chao-ts'un (趙村) und Umgegend.

Anfertigung von Körben und Flechtwerk aus Weidenruten steht in hoher Blüte. Diese Erzeugnisse werden mit gutem Gewinn nach Peking und Tientsin abgesetzt.

Folgende Erzeugnisse werden an Ort und Stelle verbraucht: Kornarten, Weizen, Gerste, eßbare Pilze, Mais, Kaoliang, Sesam, Linsen, schwarze Bohnen, Hirse, Erdnüsse, Weißkohl. Kreuzhölzer und Dachsparren aus Pappeln- und Ulmenholz finden in Peking und Tientsin gute Abnahme.

### 5. Kreis Yung-ch'ing-hsien (永清縣).

Sand und Salzerde beschränken die Landwirtschaft auf ein geringes Maß. Bemerkenswerte Gewerbe existieren nicht.

Kornarten, Kaoliang, Mais, Hirse, Bohnen, Sesam, Pappeln, Weiden, Jujuben, Birnen werden für den Bedarf der eingesessenen Bevölkerung gezogen.

Körbe, Kiepen und Kornschnüre werden für den eignen Gebrauch gefertigt.

### 6. Kreis Tung-an-hsien (東安縣).

Bei der großen Überschwemmung des Hun-ho vor zehn Jahren ist über die Hälfte des Kulturlandes mit einer Sandschicht bedeckt worden. Gegenwärtig wird im Südosten hauptsächlich Ackerbau, im Nordwesten Baumzucht betrieben, doch sind die Erträge gering. Besondere Gewerbtätigkeiten gibt es nicht.

#### A. Fruchtarten, Gemüse und Gräser.

Reis, Kolbenhirse, Hirse, Weizen, Bohnen, Sesam, Buchweizen, Gurken, Kürbis, Tarowurzel (芋 *yū*, *Colocasia antiquorum* Schott.), Yamswurzel (山藥 *shan-yao*, *Dioscorea Batatas* DCne.), Rüben, Indigo, Schilfrohr, Binsen, Wasserpfeffer (蓼 *liao*, *Polygonum hydropiper* L.), Panicum crus-corri L. (水稗 *shui-pai*).

#### B. Arzneipflanzen.

Pfefferminze (薄荷 *po-ho*), Maulbeerbaumrinde, Stachelnuss (蒺藜 *chi-li*, *Tribulus terrestris*), Cotyledon fimbriata Turcz. (瓦松 *wa-sung*), Labkraut (蕁耳 *ts'ang-érh*, *Xanthium strumarium* L.), Cuscuta chinensis Lem. (菟丝 *t'u-sse*), Ipomoea hederacea Jacq. (牽牛 *ch'ien-niu*), Stachys Sieboldii Miq. (地蠶 *ti-ts'an*), Wegerich (車前草 *ch'ē-ch'ien-ts'ao*, *Plantago major* L.).

#### C. Bäume.

Maulbeerbäume, Ulmen, Sophora japonica, Pyrus betulaefolia Bge. (杜 *tu*), Cedrela odorata (椿 *ch'un*), Weiden.

#### D. Obst.

Birnen, Pfirsiche, Persimonen, Wassermelonen, Aprikosen, Jujuben, Granatäpfel (石榴 *shi-liu*), Punica granatum L., Pflaumen.

Mit Ausnahme von Birnen, Pfirsichen, Persimonen und Wassermelonen, die nach Peking ausgeführt werden, werden die übrigen Erzeugnisse alle an Ort und Stelle verbraucht.

### 7. Kreis Hsiang-ho-hsien (香河縣).

(Liste unausgefüllt.)

Die fünf Kornarten und frische Früchte bilden die einzigen Erzeugnisse des Kreises. Das Gewerbe beschränkt sich auf die Herstellung der Gebrauchsgegenstände des täglichen Lebens für den eignen Bedarf.

### 8. Departement Tung-chou (通州).

Im Südwesten des Gebiets finden sich viele hohe Hügel, die unter beständiger Dürre leiden, im Nordosten viele Niedernungen, die zeitweilig ganz unter Wasser stehen. Außer den fünf Kornarten eignet sich nichts zum Anbau. Die Steuern auf Tabak und Wein werden vom Steuerzweigbüro Ost vereinnahmt. Besondere Gewerbtätigkeiten gibt es nicht.

#### A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

Kaoliang, Mais, Buchweizen, Kornarten, Bohnen, Baumwolle, Tabak, Indigo werden an Ort und Stelle verbraucht.

#### B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Öl, Wein.

### 9. Kreis San-ho-hsien (三河縣).

Unfruchtbarkeit des Bodens und Armut der Bevölkerung schließen jeden Handel von Bedeutung aus; besondere charakteristische Erzeugnisse fehlen gänzlich. Alle Produkte sind landwirtschaftlicher Natur und werden zu ihrer Zeit auf den Märkten gehandelt. Die wahren Ziffern des Konsums zu ermitteln ist äußerst schwer; die folgende Tabelle gibt nur eine auf Grund von Nachforschungen zusammengestellte Übersicht.

#### A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

Die fünf Kornarten, verschiedene Getreidesorten, Baumwolle, Früchte, Hanf, Indigo werden an Ort und Stelle verbraucht.

Sesam (*Sesamum indicum*)

Atractylis ovata Thunb. (蒼朮 *ts'ang-shu*) { das Catty bis zu

Perilla nankinensis Dene. (紫蘇 *tsü-su*) } 100 Käsch

Wegerich (*Plantago major L.*).

#### B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Branntwein: 174 000 Catty, hergestellt in 22 größeren und kleineren Brennereien, wird an Ort und Stelle verbraucht.

Mauersteine: etwa 60 000 Stück, das Hundert zu 0,45 Taels,

Dachziegel: etwa 60 000 Stück, das Hundert zu 0,20 Taels, werden in zusammen 20 Ziegeleien fabriziert.

Baumwolltuch: etwa 2 400 Ballen finden in den benachbarten Kreisen Abnehmer, der Ballen zu 0,60—1,40 Taels.

Baumwollschrüzen: das Hundert zu 2—4 Taels, werden an Ort und Stelle abgesetzt.

Schweinsborsten: das Catty zu 0,80 Taels, werden in Mengen von etlichen hundert Catty von zureisenden fremden Kaufleuten aufgekauft.

Rindshäute: das Stück zu 3—4 Taels, zusammen etwa 200 Stück,

Schaffelle: das Stück zu mehr als 0,20 Taels, zusammen etwa 2000 Stück,

Ziegenfelle: das Stück zu mehr als 0,30 Taels, zusammen etwa 3 000 Stück. Die letzten drei Artikel werden nach Peking verkauft und dort verbraucht.

### 10. Kreis Wu-ch'ing-hsien (武清縣).

Haupterzeugnis sind Strohhüte und Strohborten aus Weizenstroh, die von fremden Kaufleuten für den Export angekauft werden. Gegenwärtig besteht die Absicht, diese Industrie auszugestalten, damit der Absatz vermehrt wird.

#### A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

Baumwolle, hauptsächlich aus den Dörfern bei Ts'ai-ts'un (蔡村) und Ta-liang-ch'en (大良鎮), das Catty zu 2 000 Käsch;

Melonenkerne, aus den Dörfern bei Pei-wang-ts'un (北旺村), das Catty zu 400 Käsch;

Erdnüsse, überall, das Catty zu 200 Käsch; gehen nach Peking und Tientsin.

#### B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Strohgeflechte, aus etwa 20 Dörfern bei Huang-hua-ch'en (黃花鎮) und Ch'en-ying-ch'en (甄營鎮); gehen ins Ausland.

### 11. Kreis Pao-ch'i-hsien (寶坻縣).

Das Land wird von dem Chi-yün-ho (薊運河), dem Pao-ch'in-ho (鮑邱河), dem Ch'ing-lung-wan-ho (青龍灣河) und sechs andern Flüssen durchströmt und hat die Gestalt eines Kesselbodens. Zur Regenzeit steht es unter Wasser, zur trocknen Jahreszeit spaltet sich der ausgedörzte Boden. Es kann daher kein Reis gebaut werden. Unter den landwirtschaftlichen Erzeugnissen stehen die verschiedenen Hirsearten oben an, unter den gewerblichen verdienen die Tuch- und Papierfabrikate hervorgehoben zu werden.

#### A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

Kaoliang, Weizen, Bohnen, Mais, Kolbenhirse (*Setaria italica* Kunth.), Hirse (*Panicum miliaceum* L.), Buchweizen, Hanf,

Tabakblätter } das Catty zu mehr als 10 Taels,  
Baumwolle } das Catty zu mehr als 10 Taels,

Opium, 100 Unzen (*liang*) = über 30 Taels,

Weintrauben, das Catty zu mehr als 18 Taels,

Jujuben, das Catty zu mehr als 3 Taels.

## B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Rotes Papier, aus mehr als 20 Fabriken, wird nach außerhalb verkauft. Baumwollstoffe, von mehr als 900 Webstühlen, werden nach dem Nordwesten und nach der Mongolei abgesetzt.

Strohhutborten, gehen in geringer Zahl nach außerhalb.

Hirsebranntweine und Reisbranntweine werden in großen Mengen nach Peking verkauft.

## 12. Kreis Ning-ho-hsien (寧河縣).

Der gewöhnliche Erwerbszweig aller Dörfer längs der Küste ist die Gewinnung des Seesalzes für den Bedarf der beiden Provinzen Tschili und Honan. Sonst sind Feldfrüchte das hauptsächlichste Erzeugnis; doch existieren auch verschiedene Gewerbtätigkeiten, deren Produkte nach außerhalb Absatz finden. Für die vorhandene Baumwolle sind bereits Spinnerei- und Webereimaschinen angeschafft worden, um eine Tuchindustrie zu begründen. Das Land eignet sich auch zur Zucht von Maulbeerbäumen.

## A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

Erzeugnis	Preis pro Catty	Absatz
Kaoliang, Hirse, Hanf, gelbe Bohnen	—	
Buchweizen, Kolbenhirse, Rotweizen	—	
Schwarze Bohnen, Linsen, Sesam . . .	—	nach außerhalb
Samen der <i>Coix lachryma</i> L. (薏仁 <i>i-jén</i> ) . . . . .	0,13 Taels	
Weintrauben . . . . .	0,04	nach dem Süden der Provinz
Bataten ( <i>Dioscorea Batatas Dene.</i> ) . .	0,02	nach außerhalb
Kleine Jujuben . . . . .	0,02	nach dem Süden der Provinz
Sauerpflaumen . . . . .	0,01	
Samen der <i>Sophora japonica</i> (Mittel gegen Hämorrhoiden) . . . . .	0,02	
Schoten . . . . .	0,01	nach außerhalb
Tabakblätter . . . . .	0,02	
Opium . . . . .	7,00	
Indigo . . . . .	0,05	
Roter Pfeffer (花椒 <i>hua-chiao</i> ) . . .	über 2,00 Taels	nach dem Auslande
Grober Hanf (紵麻 <i>chu-ma</i> ) . . . .	0,03	nach Mukden
<i>Mentha arvensis</i> L. (薄荷 <i>po-ho</i> ) . .	0,10	
<i>Lycium chinense</i> Mill. (枸杞 <i>kou-ch'i</i> ) .	0,30	
<i>Luffa cylindrica</i> Roem. (菟絲 <i>t'u-ssè</i> ) .	0,20	nach außerhalb
<i>Artemisia capillaris</i> Thunb. (茵陳 <i>yin-ch'en</i> ) . . . . .	0,50	

Erzeugnis	Preis pro Catty	Absatz
Acorus calamus (菖蒲 ch'ang-p'u)	über 0,01 Taels	
Pappel- und Weidenstämme . . . . .	je nach Größe	
Rhabarber (黃鬚 huang-hsü) . . . . .	etwa 0,08 Taels	
Polypodium lingua Sw. (韋麻 wei-ma)	• 0,02 •	nach außerhalb
Ricinus communis (蓖麻 pei-ma) . . . . .	• 0,02 •	
Reis . . . . .	das Picul 4 Taels	
Baumwolle . . . . .	das Catty 0,30 Taels	

## B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Erzeugnis	Preis	Absatz
Seesalz . . . . .	das Catty 20 Käsch und mehr	nach Tschili und Honan
Soda . . . . .	0,01 Taels	nach außerhalb
Ch'an-su (蟾酥, aus Kröten hergestelltes Mittel gegen Geschlechtskrankheiten) . . . . .	die Unze 18 Taels und mehr	nach Peking
Rindshäute . . . . .	das Stück 2—3 Taels	nach dem Auslande
Schweinsborsten . . . . .	das Catty 0,02—0,03 Taels	
Salpeter zum Gerben (皮硝 p'i-hsiao) . . . . .	0,023 Taels	
Schweine . . . . .	—	nach außerhalb
Eisensperlinge (鐵雀 t'ieh-ch'iao)	—	
Wildenten . . . . .	—	
Silberfische . . . . .	0,10—0,20 Taels	nach Peking und Tientsin
Goldschwanzgarnelen (金勾蝦 chin-kou-hsia) . . . . .	0,20 und mehr Taels	nach Peking und Nanking
Krabben (紫蟹 tzü-hsieh) . . . . .	0,02—0,03 Taels	nach außerhalb
Quallen (海蜇 hai-ché) . . . . .	0,06 Taels	nach Peking und Mukden
Getrocknete Salzfische . . . . .	0,02 •	nach außerhalb
Seetang (海帶菜 hai-tai-ts'ai) . . . . .	0,004 •	nach Peking und Mukden
Pulverisierte Muscheln (für Mörtel)	0,004 •	
Krabbenmehl . . . . .	0,02 •	nach außerhalb
Garnelenöl . . . . .	0,30 und mehr Taels	
Garnelensauce . . . . .	0,028 Taels	
Luzerne (Medicago sativa L. 苜蓿 mu-su)	0,02 •	nach Mukden

Erzeugnis	Preis	Absatz
I-mu- (益母) Kraut (Mittel gegen Frauenleiden) . . . . .	das Catty 0,40 Taels	nach außerhalb
Hemerocallis flava L. (鹿藿 lu-huo) . . . . .	0,08 .	nach Mukden
Panicum crus-galli L. (梯稗 t'i-pai) . . . . .	0,02 .	
Xanthium strumarium L. (蒼耳 ts'ang-erh) . . . . .	0,035 .	{ nach außerhalb
Tribulus terrestris L. (蒺藜 chi-li) . . . . .	0,027 .	nach Mukden
Plantago major L. (車前 ch'ê-ch'ien)	2,50 .	nach Peking und Mukden
Felsenästern (牡蠣 mu-li) . . . . .	0,26 .	
Eßbare Herzmuscheln (Cardium edule, 螺蚌 ch'êng-han) . . . . .	0,03 .	{ nach außerhalb

### 13. Departement Ch'ang-p'ing-chou (昌平州).

Die wichtigsten Erzeugnisse sind Feldfrüchte und Arzneipflanzen, die nach außerhalb verkauft werden.

#### A. Feldfrüchte (gehen nach Peking und Kalgan).

Persimonen, Birnen, Aprikosen, Pfirsiche, Kirschen, Maulbeeren, Jububen, Weintrauben, Sandbirnen (沙菓 sha-kuo), Pyrus spectabilis Ait. (海棠菓 hai-t'ang-kuo), Crataegus pinnatifida Bge. (山裡紅 shan-li-hung), Walnüsse (胡桃 hu-t'ao), Haselnüsse (榛子 chén-jang), Aprikosenerne, Pflaumen, Lotuswurzeln aus den warmen Quellen bei T'ang-shan (湯泉菓藕 T'ang-ch'üan-kuo-ou), getrocknete Aprikosen, Bataten (Dioscorea Batatas, 山藥 shan-yao), Tarowurzeln (Colocasia antiquorum Schott. 山芋 shan-yü).

#### B. Arzneipflanzen (gehen nach Peking und Kalgan).

Scutellaria riscidula (黃芩 huang-ch'in),  
 Platycodon grandiflorum (桔梗 chieh-kéng),  
 Scirpus tuberosus Roxb. (赤芍 ch'i-h-shao),  
 Trichosanthes multiloba Miq. (瓜蔓 kua-lü),  
 Blumenmehl, Maulbeerbaunrinde,  
 Carum carvi (防風 fang-féng),  
 Polygala tenuifolia Willd. (遠志 yüan-chih),  
 Mentha arvensis L. (薄荷 po-ho),  
 Schizandra sinensis Baill. (五味子 iu-wei-tzé),

Heteropogon (黃柏 *huang-po*),  
 Arctium Lappa L. (牛蒡子 *niu-pang-tze*),  
 Phltheiospermum chinense Bge. (荆芥 *ching-chieh*),  
 Perilla ocyoides L. (蘇葉 *su-yeh*),  
 Plantago major L. (車前子 *ch'ê-ch'ien-tze*),  
 Atractylis ovata Thunb. (蒼朮 *ts'ang-shu*),  
 Ligustrum sinense Lour. (黑丑 *hei-ch'ou*),  
 Crataegus pyracantha Pers. (茶葉棵子 *ch'a-yeh-kuo-tze*),  
 Eurya japonica Thunb.) (山茶 *shan-ch'a*),  
 Tabak,  
 Eicheln (von Quercus sinensis, 相碗子 *hsiang-wan-tze*),  
 Parfümierte Kuchen  
 Weißer Sand für Reiskulturen } nach Peking und Tientsin,  
 Ruten der Vitex incisa (荆條 *ching-t'iao*) zur Korbfabrikation.

#### 14. Kreis Shun-i-hsien (順義縣).

(Liste unvollständig.)

Die landwirtschaftlichen Erzeugnisse beschränken sich auf Kornarten, Bohnen, Reis u. dgl., die gewerblichen auf Branntwein. Die genannten Produkte werden nach außerhalb verkauft, doch ist der Umsatz ein geringer.

#### 15. Kreis Mi-yün-hsien (密雲縣).

(Hier ist die Liste sehr sorgfältig ausgefüllt worden und bietet im Gegensatze zum vorstehenden Bericht eine vorzügliche Übersicht.)

Als neu zu erschließende Erwerbsquellen kommen in erster Linie Seidenraupenzucht und Weinbau in Betracht, für die sich das Land in hervorragendem Maße eignet. Wenn sich auch gegenwärtig schon viele Familien mit der Kultur von Maulbeerbäumen befassen, so bedarf es doch zur Erzielung besserer Kokons der Einführung rationeller Methoden. Weinbeeren gibt es in zwei Sorten: runde und längliche; will man die Herstellung von Traubenwein ins Auge fassen, so muß dem Anbau der runden Art besondere Sorgfalt gewidmet werden.

##### A. Gold.

1. Goldgrube Lao-kuo-tien (老郭店), 80 Li nordöstlich der Kreisstadt, mit sehr reichen Erträgen.

2. Goldgrube Hsin-k'ai-tao-ling (新開道嶺), 70 Li nordöstlich der Kreisstadt, mit etwas geringern Erträgen als Lao-kuo-tien.

3. Goldgrube Pin-lang-kou (檳榔溝), über 80 Li nordöstlich der Kreisstadt, mit nicht ganz so guten Erträgen wie Lao-kuo-tien, aber bessern wie Hsin-k'ai-tao-ling.

4. Flussgoldwäscherei Yin-yeh-shan (銀冶山), 8 Li südlich der Kreisstadt, längere Zeit von den Anwohnern betrieben, aber wegen ungünstiger Hilfsmittel wieder aufgegeben.

5. Goldgrube Ma-chia-tzé (馬家子), 8 Li nördlich der Kreisstadt, ebenso gut wie Lao-kuo-tien;
6. Goldgrube Li-liang-shao (立梁肖), 15 Li bei Shih-t'ang (石塘), mit nicht so guten Erträgningen wie Lao-kuo-tien.
7. Goldgrube Pei-tui-ku (北對峪), 30 Li bei Shih-t'ang, ebenso gut wie Lao-kuo-tien.
8. Goldgrube Ta-cha-lan (大棚欄), 18 Li nördlich der Kreisstadt, mit sehr guter Ausbeute.

#### B. Kohle.

1. Grube Tung-chih-li (東智里), 12 Li nördlich der Kreisstadt am Peiho (白河), mit sehr guten Lagern. Früher von den Anwohnern mit bestem Erfolg ausgebeutet, ist die Grube gegenwärtig ersoffen, da man dem andringenden Wasser nicht wehren konnte. Es sind jetzt Maßnahmen getroffen, um das Wasser entweder abzuleiten oder mit Saugmaschinen auszupumpen.
2. Grube T'ai-tzé-wu (太子塢), 15 Li westlich der Kreisstadt, mit bisher nicht sehr ergiebiger Ausbeute.

3. Grube Pai-ling (白嶺), 7 Li nördlich der Kreisstadt. Die obern Schichten sind nicht so gut wie in Tung-chih-li, doch steht zu erwarten, daß die tiefern Lagen besser werden.

4. Grube Ch'a-p'êng-tung-kou (茶棚東溝), 30 Li südlich der Kreisstadt, sehr reiche Lager wie in Tung-chih-li, früher von den Anwohnern abgebaut, gegenwärtig aber außer Betrieb, weil die Kohle zu hart sein und nicht ordentlich brennen soll.

#### C. Bäume.

1. Nadelhölzer: Die Wurzeln werden zu wohlriechenden Pulvern verarbeitet. Da in letzter Zeit die Nadelhölzer knapp geworden sind, werden jetzt auch andre Baunwurzeln verwendet; doch ist der Handel lange nicht mehr so bedeutend wie früher.

2. Pappeln und Weiden: Werden in großen Mengen gepflanzt; die Ch'i-Weide (杞柳 *ch'i-liu*) wird zur Korbfabrikation benutzt, ist indessen hier nicht so fein wie im Kreise Ku-an-hsien. Absatz an Ort und Stelle.

3. Eichen (*橡* *hsiang*, *Quercus sinensis*): Die Früchte geben einen schwarzen Farbstoff, die Blätter werden zur Fütterung des Bergseiden-spinners verwandt. Junge Stämme können abgehauen im Gebirge niedergelegt werden, um eßbare Schwämme (*Hirneola polytricha* Fr., 木耳 *mu-érh*) darauf zu ziehen, alte Stämme als Brennholz verbraucht oder zu Holzkohle gebrannt werden. Die Bauern sind gegenwärtig ermahnt worden, der Eichenkultur ihr Augenmerk zuzuwenden.

4. Maulbeerbäume: Der Boden eignet sich für diese in hohem Grade. Das Seidenkulturanst (Ts'an-sang-chü) in Kupei'ou (古北口) hat schon seit längerer Zeit Unterrichtskurse abhalten lassen, so daß jetzt sehr viele Leute die Zucht von Maulbeerbäumen und Seidenraupen betreiben. Das

Abhaspeln der Rohseide macht noch Schwierigkeiten, da man die Kokons nicht zu kochen versteht und die Seide einfach aufspult; der Faden wird daher grob und hart. Gegenwärtig besteht die Absicht, einen erfahrenen Seidenarbeiter zu engagieren und im Amtsgebäude des Magistrats eine Haspelschule zur Unterweisung des Volkes einzurichten. Angemessene Preise werden festgesetzt werden, um den allgemeinen Eifer zu spornen.

5. Mandeln: Groß und von süßem Geschmack, werden lebhaft gehandelt.

6. Kleine Jujuben: In allen guten Erntejahren eins der Haupterzeugnisse des Kreises, werden von zureisenden Händlern aufgekauft.

7. Weintrauben: Die lange und die runde Art sind beide viel vertreten, werden aber ausschließlich gegessen. Jetzt ist die Bevölkerung aufgefordert worden, die runde Art in größeren Mengen zu bauen, damit später einmal Wein gekeltert werden kann.

#### D. Feldfrüchte.

1. Korn- und Hirsearten, Weizen, Gerste und Bohnensorten. Alle wie in den Nachbarbezirken und ohne lokale Eigentümlichkeiten. Zu bemerken wäre nur, daß neun Zehntel des gebauten Kaoliangs zur Herstellung von Branntwein verbraucht werden.

2. Feldreis (旱稻 *han-tao*, *Oryza sativa L.*): Nur wenig gebaut, an einigen Stellen auch im Wasser. Die alteingesessenen Bauern behaupten alle, der Boden sei so locker, daß er das Eindringen der Winterkälte nicht hindere; daher eigne er sich weder zur Kultur von Wasserreis noch zum Bau von Winterweizen.

#### E. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Besondere lokale Gewerbtätigkeiten gibt es nicht. Zu erwähnen ist, daß der aus Kaoliang und Mais gewonnene Weißbranntwein besser ist als der an andern Orten hergestellte; der Grund dafür soll die Beschaffenheit des Wassers sein, das sich ganz besonders für Brennereizwecke eignet.

Aus Blauholz (木藍板 *mu-lan-pan*) wird ein indigoblauer Farbstoff hergestellt, aber ausschließlich im Kreise verbraucht. Die Wurzeln von Nadelhölzern werden unter Hinzufügung von Wasser zerrieben und zu wohlriechenden Pulvern verarbeitet.

Ausländisches Garn wird bereits an zwei Stellen verwebt. Es besteht die Absicht, Spinnmaschinen zu kaufen, um einheimische Baumwolle zu verarbeiten und den Nutzen im Lande zu behalten; das Projekt hat sich bisher leider aus Mangel an Kapital nicht verwirklichen lassen. Die Fabrikation grober Gegenstände beschränkt sich auf Körbe und Siebe aus Weidenruten. Die Tischler, Gerber und Metallarbeiter sind ungeschickte Leute ohne technische Fertigkeit, und auch mit den Handarbeiten der Frauen liegt es sehr im argen. Gegenwärtig haben sich angesehene Einwohner der Kreisstadt zusammengeschlossen, um durch Begründung einer Landwirtschafts- und einer Gewerbeschule das Wohl der Bevölkerung zu lieben, doch fehlt es noch an den nötigen Geldern.

#### F. Beschaffenheit des Landes.

Das Gebiet des Kreises liegt unter dem 40. nördlichen Breitengrade; seine natürlichen Hilfsquellen sind noch spärlicher als die der übrigen Teile Tschilis, da die meisten Felder am oder im Gebirge liegen. Wenn es auch in der Tributrolle des Kaisers Yü -bei guter Düngung fruchtbar- genannt wird, so ist der Boden doch zu locker, um der Kälte zu widerstehen, und liefert nur spärliche Erträge; am besten eignet er sich zur Baumkultur. Da das Volk den Nutzen von Baumpflanzungen nicht einsieht, ist jetzt an vielen Stellen damit begonnen worden, auf beiden Seiten aller öffentlichen Wege Weidenbäume zu pflanzen und die Gemeindevorsteher für deren Schutz verantwortlich zu machen.

#### 16. Kreis Huai-jou-hsien (懷柔縣).

Das Gebiet des Kreises ist eng und klein; die Bewohner sind einfältige Bauern, die nur den Ackerbau verstehen. Die Gewerbtätigkeit beschränkt sich auf die Herstellung von Lehmhütten, die kaum als gewerbliches Erzeugnis zählen dürfen.

##### Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

Kornarten, Reis, Mais, Sesam, Kaoliang, Buchweizen, Kolbenhirse; verschiedene Sorten Bohnen, Erdnüsse (10 Catty zu 300 Käsch), Perilla *ocymoides* L. (das Picul etwa 3 Taels), Hanf (das Picul etwa 3 Taels).

#### 17. Departement Cho-chou (涿州).

Obwohl der Boden nicht besonders fruchtbar ist, eignet er sich doch zum Anbau von Reis, Baumwolle, Maulbeerbäumen und Obstbäumen aller Art. Das Handwerk beschränkt sich auf die Herstellung grober Erzeugnisse.

##### A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse (werden in guten Erntejahren auch nach außerhalb verkauft).

Kornarten, Kaoliang, Mais, Bohnen, Reis;  
Birnen, Jujuben, Persimonen, Weintrauben, Pfirsiche, Lotus, Aprikosen, Wasserkastanien (李子 *p'o-chi*, *Scirpus tuberosus* Roxb.), Walnüsse;  
Pappeln, Weiden, Ulmen, *Sophora japonica* (槐 *huai*), *Cedrela odorata* (椿 *ch'un*), *Thuja orientalis* (柏 *po*), Maulbeerbäume, Baumwolle, Tabak.

##### B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Baumwollstoff,  
Gebackene Jujuben.

#### 18. Kreis Fang-shan-hsien (房山縣).

Das Gebiet des Kreises liegt hoch über der Ebene mitten im Gebirge. Die Bewohner sind arme Bauern. Die Erträge sind sehr spärlich und werden ausschließlich an Ort und Stelle und in der nächsten Nachbarschaft verbraucht.

## A. Natürliche Erzeugnisse.

Die fünf Kornarten,

Stückkohle (aus den nordwestlichen Bergen),

Mineralien zur Glasfabrikation (aus der Südwestecke des Gebirges).

## B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Holzkohle,

Kalk.

## 19. Departement Pa-chou (霸州).

Haupterzeugnis ist Baumwolle, die vornehmlich im Sandboden der nördlichen Dörfer unter dem Namen »Langsamblume« (長絨花 ch'ang-jung-hua) gepflanzt wird. Die von den Samen gereinigte Rohbaumwolle ist fein und weich, gibt einen langen Faden und wird nach außerhalb verkauft. Die Herstellung von Baumwollstoffen, Gerbernatron und Schilfmatten sind die wichtigsten Industriezweige.

## A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

Kornarten, Hirscesorten, Reis, Weizen, Gerste, Bohnen, Mais, Buchweizen, Sesam, Wasserkresse (芹菜 ch'in-ts'ai, Nasturtium palustre), Bataaten, Pilze;

Pappeln, Ulnen, Sophora japonica, Maulbeerbäume, Broussonetia papyrifera (楮 ch'u), Tamarix sinensis (檉 ch'eng), Pyrus betulaefolia Bge. (杜), Pyrus spectabilis Ait. (棠 t'ang), Ailanthus glandulosa (樗 ch'u), Zizyphus jujuba (棘 chi), Fichten, Lebensbäume;

Weintrauben, Persimonen, Euryale ferox (芡實 ch'ien-shih), Trapa bispinosa (菱角 ling-chiao), Kirschen, Erdnüsse, Pfirsiche, Pflaumen, Jububen, Aprikosen;

Baumwolle, über 100 000 Catty aus 10—20 Dörfern; das Catty wird zu 700—800 Peking-Käsch nach außerhalb verkauft;

Abutilon avicinnae, Gaert. (蕓麻 jung-ma, sogenannter Setschuanhanf), über 1 000 000 Catty aus 20—30 Dörfern; das Catty wird zu etwa 100 Peking-Käsch nach Tientsin verkauft.

## B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Baumwollstoff, 40—50 000 Ballen aus 30—40 Dörfern, der Ballen im Werte von 1 Tiao 100 Peking-Käsch. Absatz nach außerhalb. Der Stoff ist größer als der ausländische, aber feiner als der an andern Orten hergestellte einheimische;

Gerbernatron, über 100 000 Catty aus über 30 Häusern, geht nach Tientsin und Paotungfu;

Schilfmatten, aus 10—20 Dörfern, gehen nach Peking.

## 20. Kreis Wén-an-hsien (文安縣).

(Liste unausgefüllt.)

Außer Körnerfrüchten und Gemüsen wird an einigen Stellen auch Hanfgebaut. Die Gewerbtätigkeit beschränkt sich auf die Herstellung von Schilfmatten.

### 21. Kreis Ta-ch'eng-hsien (大城縣).

Alle Erzeugnisse der Landwirtschaft und des Gewerbes werden ausschließlich innerhalb des Kreises verbraucht, nur wenn Überfluß vorhanden ist, nach außerhalb verkauft.

#### A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

Erzeugnis	Ungefährer Ertrag	Durchschnittswert
Verschiedene Kornarten . . . . .	100 000 Picul	das Picul 5—6 000 Peking-Käsch
Erdnüsse . . . . .	30—40 000 Catty	Catty 160 Peking-Käsch
Kleine Jujuben . . . . .	20—40 000	• • 3—400 Peking-Käsch
Bataten . . . . .	über 10 000	• • 7—8 Peking-Käsch

#### B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Erzeugnis	Produktion	Durchschnittswert	Zahl der Fabriken
Schilfmatten . . . . .	über 1 000 000 Rollen	das Stück 100 Peking-Käsch	einige 100
Grober weißer Baumwollstoff . . . . .	4—5 000 Ballen	der Ballen 12—1 300 Peking-Käsch	etwa 50
Strohhutborten . . . . .	10—20 000 Unzen	die Unze 50—60 Peking-Käsch	• 50
Branntwein . . . . .	über 300 000 Catty	das Catty 100 Peking-Käsch	8

### 22. Kreis Pao-ting-hsien (保定縣).

(Liste ausangefüllt.)

Die Bauern des Kreises verkaufen ihre Produkte nicht nach außerhalb, nur die Handwerker können einige Sachen an die Nachbarbezirke absetzen.

### 23. Departement Chi-chou (薊州).

Die Lage am Fuße des Gebirges mit seinen Abflüssen lässt Sandflächen überwiegen, so daß die Erträge des Bodens nur gering sind. Die Erzeugnisse werden ausschließlich innerhalb des Kreises verbraucht und nur in besonders guten Erntejahren bringen einige wenige Leute ihre Produkte nach Tongshan auf den Markt.

#### Erzeugnisse.

Erzeugnis	Gesamtwert	Gesamtertrag
Indigo . . . . .	20 000 Tiao	40—50 000 Catty
Honig . . . . .	über 1 000	• 1 000 •
Persimonen . . . . .	• 10 000	70—80 000 •

Erzeugnis	Gesamtwert	Gesamtertrag
Birnen . . . . .	7—8 000 Tiao	über 90 000 Catty
Walnüsse . . . . .	über 600 ·	· 200 000 Stück
Pfirsiche und Aprikosen . . . . .	· 3 000 ·	· 80 000 Catty
Kastanien . . . . .	17—1 800 ·	70—80 Picul
I-mu- (益母) Salbe [gegen Frauenleiden]. . . . .	4—5 000 ·	über 100 Catty
Atractylis ovata . . . . .	über 3 000 ·	20—30 000 ·
Sturmhutblätter zum Schwarzfärb'en	14—1 500 ·	40—50 000 ·
Rote Jujuben . . . . .	5—6 000 ·	30—40 000 ·

Obige Preise und Quantitäten sind nach den Durchschnittswerten guter Erntejahre berechnet.

#### 24. Kreis P'ing-ku-hsien (平谷縣).

Der Kreis ist nur klein — 40—50 Li im Durchmesser — und der Boden sandig. Haupterzeugnis ist Baumwolle, die hier in bessern Qualitäten wächst und gute Stoffe liefert. Gegenwärtig sollen Leute nach Wakayama in Japan geschickt werden, um die dortigen Methoden der Baumwollverarbeitung zu erlernen.

##### Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

Die fünf Kornarten;

Baumwolle, 30—40 000 Catty, das Catty zu etwa 2 Tiao Peking-Käsch; geht nach außerhalb.

#### 25. Selbständiges Departement Tsun-hua-chou (遵化州).

##### A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

Erzeugnis	Preis	Ertrag	Hersteller usw.
Erdnüsse . . . . .	100 Catty 12—13 Tiao	jährlich über 200 000 Catty	über 5 000 Familien
Abutilon avicinnae (Setschuanhanf):	· 14—15 ·	· 20—30 000 ·	· 40 ·
Eichelkelche (Fär bemittel):	· 2—3 ·	· 4—5 000 ·	· 20 ·
Holzkohle . . . . .	· 4—5 ·	· 3—4 000 000 ·	· 200 ·
Weißer Honig. . . . .	1 Catty 1 Tiao 600 Käsch	· über 1 000 ·	· 10 ·
Roter Honig . . . . .	· über 600 ·	· · 30 000 ·	· 100 ·
Wachs . . . . .	· 2 Tiao 300 ·	· · 300 ·	· 100 ·
Kalksteine . . . . .	· 18—19 Tiao	· · 300 000 ·	· 20 ·
Mühlsteine . . . . .	2 Fuß 2 Zoll groß, 7—8 Zoll dick, das Stück 8—9 Tiao	· · 30 000 Stück	50—60 ·
Fichtenschwämmen	1 Catty über 500 Käsch	· · 1 000 Catty	von den Bauern gelegentlich ge- sammelt

Erzeugnis	Preis	Ertrag	Hersteller usw.
Schweinsborsten . . .	1 Catty 3—400 Käsch	jährlich über 10 000 Catty	werden an fremd
Schweinsmähnen . . .	· 3—5 Tiao	· · 1 000 ·	Firmen nach
Ziegenhäute . . .	· 2 Tiao 300 Käsch	· · 2—3 000 ·	Tientsin verkau
Indigo . . . .	· über 300 ·	· · 1 000 ·	

## B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Erzeugnis	Preis	Ertrag	Hersteller
Ölnudeln . . . .	100 Catty 35—36 Peking-Käsch	jährlich 20—30 000 Catty	20—30 Familie
Teppiche . . . .	1 Quadratfuß 1 Tiao	über 30 000 Stück	über 50 ·
I-mu-(益母草)	3—400 Peking-Käsch		
Arznei aus Mutterkraut zur Förderung der Menstruation	1 Catty über 1 Tiao	einige 1 000 Catty	6 ·
Filz aus Rinder- haaren . . . .	1 Fuß 2 Zoll breit, 5 Fuß 5 Zoll lang, 1 Tiao 500 Peking-Käsch	2—3 000 Stück	2 ·

## 26. Kreis Yü-t'ien-hsien (玉田縣).

## A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

Erzeugnis.	Preis	Absatz
Baumwolle . . . .	100 Catty 200 Tiao Peking-Käsch	
Rohr . . . . .	das 3-Zoll-Bündel 8 Tiao Peking-Käsch	
Hanf . . . . .	100 Catty 45—46 Tiao Peking-Käsch	innerhalb
Tabak . . . . .	· 50 · · ·	des Kreises
Indigo . . . . .	· 30 · kleine Käsch	

## B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Strohhutlechten, Frauenarbeit, gehen nach Tientsin;  
 Strohhüte, das Stück 500 Käsch bis 1 Tiao und mehr;  
 Strohmatten, das Stück 1—2 Tiao und mehr;  
 Baumwollstoff, Frauenarbeit, der Ballen 26 zu 8 Fuß; 4 Tiao bis  
 4 Tiao 2—300 Käsch;  
 Filz aus Schafwolle, der Streifen 6—30 Tiao;  
 Säcke aus ausländischem Garn, das Stück 3—4 Tiao;  
 Hanschnüre, grobe und feine, aus der Gegend von Ya-hung-chiao  
 (鴉紅橋);  
 bunte Hosenbänder für Männer und Frauen;  
 Körbe aus Weidenruten, das Stück 4—6 Tiao;

Siebe und Schwingen aus Weidenruten, das Stück 1—2 Tiao;  
 Saugpumpen aus Weidenholz zur Berieselung der Felder, das Stück  
 1 Tiao 600 Käsch;  
 Ziegelsteine, 100 Stück bester Qualität 3 Tiao, geringer Qualität  
 1 Tiao;  
 Kalk, 100 Catty 1 Tiao 800 Käsch bis 2 Tiao.

### 27. Kreis Ch'ing-yüan-hsien (清苑縣) = Stadtkreis Pao-ting-fu.

Der Kreis ist die Zentrale der Provinz, wo sich Güter aller Art in Hülle und Fülle finden, doch werden die meisten Waren von Kauflenten herantransportiert. Landesprodukte sind Shui-huang-Wein, süße Sojasauce, Korbarbeiten, Strohgeflechte und Schweinsborsten, die alle lebhaft gehandelt werden. Gemüse und Feldfrüchte werden zwar auch in großen Mengen gebaut, doch im Kreise selbst aufgezehrt. Gegenwärtig wird die Förderung der Frauenarbeit, namentlich in der Strohflechterei, in Angriff genommen.

#### A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

Erzeugnis	Export	Menge
Schweinsborsten, das Catty 30—40 Käsch . . . . .	4/10	viel
Baumwolle, 100 Catty 21 Taels und mehr . . . . .	8/10	-
Weißkohl . . . . .	-	-
Tabak . . . . .	2/10	nicht sehr viel
Erdnüsse . . . . .	2/10	-
Senf, Birnen, Persimonen, Pfirsiche . . . . .	2/10	viel
Jujuben, Äpfel . . . . .	-	-

#### B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Erzeugnis	Export	Menge
Shui-huang- (水黃) Wein, in den Sojasfabriken hergestellt, 1 Catty = 1,80 Taels . . . . .	4/10	11 Fabriken
Süße Sojasauce (甜醬 t'ien-chiang) . . . . .	6/10	16 -
Ch'un-pu-lao (春不老) [eine Sinapisart] . . . . .	8/10	viel
Körbe aus Ruten der Vitex incisa . . . . .	8/10	-
Strohhüte . . . . .	2/10	nicht sehr viel
Grober Baumwollstoff . . . . .	8/10	viel
Eisenkugeln, zum Fortbewegen von Lasten . . . . .	-	-
Stärkekleister, in festen Stücken . . . . .	-	-

### 28. Kreis Man-ch'eng-hsien (滿城縣).

Der Südosten des Kreises liegt niedrig und erzeugt Feldfrüchte und Gemüse, im hügeligen Nordwesten treten Baumwolle und Opium hinzu. Die gewerbliche Tätigkeit beschränkt sich auf das Reinigen der Baumwolle, Baumwollspinnerei und -weberei und die Herstellung von Wagen und Ackergeräten aller Art.

Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse (werden im Kreise verbraucht).

Weizen, Gerste, Kaoliang, Bohnen, Hirsearten, Reis;  
 Weißkohl, Mohn, Raphanus sativus (蘿蔔 *lo-po*), Zwiebeln, Senf,  
*Allium porrum* (韭 *chiu*), Kresse, Melonen;  
 Weiden, Pappeln, Lebensbäume, Fichten, Sophora japonica;  
 Jujuben, Persimmen, Lotus, Hirntäschelkraut (蕷 *chi*);  
 Baumwolle, das Catty 4—500 Peking-Käsch, geht nach Yü-chou  
 (蔚州).

### 29. Kreis An-su-hsien (安肅縣).

Unter den Erzeugnissen des Kreises gibt es Tabak und Opium, die indessen ausschließlich im Kreise selbst verbraucht werden und unter der Kontrolle des Steuerbureaus stehen. In einigen 20 Dörfern um T'ien-chia-chuang (田家莊) wird Indigo gebaut, der nach außerhalb Absatz findet; im Dorfe Liu-hsiang-tien (劉祥店) werden Strohhüte und Fächer hergestellt und mit gutem Nutzen verhandelt.

#### Erzeugnisse.

Kornarten, Hirscesorten, Kaoliang, viel Soyabohnen (菽豆 *shu-tou*, Glycine hispida Max.);

Indigo, das Catty 100 Peking-Käsch und mehr, über 100 000 Catty gehen jährlich nach Peking;

Strohhüte und Fächer aus Weizenstroh	} werden im Kreise verbraucht.
Tabak	
Opium	

### 30. Kreis Ting-hsing-hsien (定興縣).

Haupterzeugnis der Landwirtschaft ist Gerste. Das Gewerbe betätigt sich im Spinnen und Weben von Baumwolle; gegenwärtig sind Baumwollreinigungsmaschinen angeschafft worden. Ferner hat man 25 000 Maulbeerbaumstecklinge besorgt und ein Seidenindustrieamt begründet, das im kommenden Jahre seine Wirksamkeit beginnt.

#### Erzeugnisse.

Die fünf Kornarten, darunter überwiegend Gerste	} werden im Kreise verbraucht;
Erdnüsse	
Opium	
Baumwolle	

Rinds- und Ziegenhäute gehen nach Peking und Tientsin.

### 31. Kreis Hsin-ch'eng-hsien (新城縣).

Von den Landesprodukten werden Erdnüsse, Bataten, Jujuben und Opium lebhaft gehandelt; im Gewerbe sind hervorzuheben: Hanfseile, Säcke, weißer Baumwollstoff, künstliche Blumen, Ziegenhäute, Branntwein, Erdnußöl — alles Produkte, die einen guten Ertrag abwerfen und nach Peking und Tientsin verhandelt werden.

## A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

Erzeugnis	Preis	Export	Ertrag
Erdnüsse . . . . .	100 Catty etwa 2,50 Taels	8/10	über 200 000 Catty
Jujuben . . . . .	1,20 -	6/10	- 35 000 000 -
Bataten . . . . .	0,45 -	6/10	- 2 000 000 -
Opium . . . . .	700,00 -	8/10	- 300 -
Weißkohl . . . . .	0,30 -	6/10	- 5 000 000 -
Setschuanhanf (Abutilon avicinnae) . . . . .	3,50 -	6/10	- 10 000 -

## B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Erzeugnis	Preis	Export	Ertrag
Hanfseile . . . . .	100 Catty etwa 4,50 Taels	4/10	über 6 000 Catty
Säcke. . . . .	1 Stück etwa 0,25 Taels	6/10	- 5 000 Stück
Weißer Baumwollstoff	—	8/10	- 10 000 Ballen
Künstliche Blumen aus Fatsia papyrifera .	—	—	- 40 000 Stück
Künstliche Blumen aus Stoff . . . . .	—	—	- 16 000 -
Ziegenhäute, gegerbt	1 Stück etwa 0,30 Taels	9/10	- 9 000 -
Erdnußöl . . . . .	100 Catty etwa 8,00 Taels	8/10	- 3 000 Catty
Branntwein . . . . .	- 8,40 -	9/10	- 600 000 -
Filz, verarbeitet . .	der Ballen zu 16 Fuß 6—700 Käsch	—	aus mehreren Fabriken
Filz, roh . . . . .	1 Catty 100 Käsch und mehr	—	aus mehreren Fabriken
Sesamöl . . . . .	- - - - -	—	wenig, wird im Kreise verbraucht

## 32. Kreis T'ang-hsien (唐縣).

Im Kreise gibt es viele kahle Berge und Hügel ohne jede Vegetation, doch kann die Südwestecke fruchtbar genannt werden. Das gebaute Getreide und Gemüse, Früchte und Hölzer decken ausschließlich den Bedarf des Kreises, dagegen wird Baumwolle, roh oder verarbeitet, nach außerhalb verkauft; leider sind die Preise so gestiegen, daß in letzter Zeit von den Webereien größtenteils ausländische Garne verwandt werden.

## A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse (werden im Kreise verbraucht).

Reis, Hirsearten, Kaoliang, Bohnen, Gerste, Buchweizen, süße Kartoffeln (紅薯 *hung-shu*, Ipomoea fastigiata);

Pfeffer (辣椒 *la-chiao*, Capsicum frutescens Willd.), Weißkohl, Kresse, Rüben, Lauch, Melonen, Raute (芸 *yün*, Ruta graveolens);

Jujuben, Persimonen, Herbstbirnen, Granatäpfel, Weintrauben, Kastanien, Walnüsse, Erdnüsse;  
 Nadelhölzer, Ulmen, *Sophora japonica*, Pappeln, Weiden;  
 Baumwolle, das Catty 80—90 Käsch; 2—300 000 Catty gehen nach Schansi und Kalgau; Gesamternte etwa 5—600 000 Catty;  
 Tabak, das Catty 70—80 Käsch, auf etwa 200 Mon Areal gebaut. Der Gesamtertrag von etwa 12 000 Catty wird im Kreise verbraucht;  
 Indigo, das Catty 60—70 Käsch } werden im Kreise verbraucht;  
 Hanf, das Catty 120—130 Käsch }  
 Sesami, der Scheffel (斗 tou) 560—570 Käsch, auf einem Areal von etwa 10 000 Mou gebaut;  $\frac{4}{10}$  bis  $\frac{5}{10}$  gehen nach außerhalb.

#### B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Weißer Baumwollstoff, der Ballen zu 1 Fuß 1 Zoll breit und 36 Fuß lang, 800—900 Käsch. Gesamtproduktion 200 000 Ballen, von denen über die Hälfte exportiert wird.

### 33. Kreis Po-yieh-hsien (博野縣).

Die Hälfte des Kreises hat lockern Sandboden, sehr geeignet für Baumwolle und Wein. Gegenwärtig werden viele Versuche mit Weinbau gemacht, doch wird auch die Förderung der Baumwollkultur angestrebt. Die übrigen Landesprodukte sind Feldfrüchte, Gemüse und Melonen.

#### A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

Die fünf Kornarten, Melonen, Weintrauben, Baumwolle.

#### B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Baumwollstoff.

### 34. Kreis Wang-tu-hsien (望都縣).

Das Gebiet des Kreises ist klein, ohne Berge und Flüsse; daher gibt es keine nennenswerten Landesprodukte.

#### A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse (werden im Kreise selber verbraucht).

Weizen, Gerste, Kaoliang, Buchweizen, Mais, Hirsearten; Weißkohl, Kresse, Salat (筍苣 *wo-chü*, *Lactuca sativa*), Rüben, Zwiebeln, Lauch, Petersilie (芹 ch'in), Senf; Jujuben, Aprikosen; Pappeln, Weiden, Ulmen, *Sophora japonica*; Hanf, das Catty zu 260 Peking-Käsch; *Solanum dulcamara* (辣茄 *la-ch'ieh*), das Catty zu 40—60 Peking-Käsch; wird auch nach Schansi verkauft.

#### B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Wagen, Ackgeräte; Grober Baumwollstoff, Schürzen.

### 35. Kreis Jung-ch'eng-hsien (容城縣).

Die Bewohner sind sehr einfache, aber rechtschaffene Leute, deren Hauptbeschäftigung der Ackerbau bildet; andre Erwerbszweige existieren nicht.

#### Erzeugnisse.

Hirsearten, Weizen, Gerste, Kaoliang, Baumwolle;  
Baumwollstoff.

### 36. Kreis Wan-hsien (完縣).

Im Kreise wachsen nur Feldfrüchte, Gemüse und Obstsorten; gewerbliche Erzeugnisse, die auch nach außerhalb verkauft werden, sind Öl aus dem Samen der Celosia argentea (青葙 ch'ing-hsiang) und grober Baumwollstoff. Da im Kreise nur wenig Baumwolle gebaut wird, ziehen Händler in die Nachbarbezirke, um solche aufzukaufen.

#### A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse (werden im Kreise verbraucht).

Hirsearten, Weizen, Gerste, Bohnen;  
Gemüse;  
Birnen, Jujuben, Pfirsiche, Aprikosen.

#### B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Öl aus Samen der Celosia argentea, 100 Fēng = 14—15 Tiao Tientsin-Käsch, aus mehr als zehn Fabriken; geht nach Mukden, Peking, Tientsin und Honan;

Grober Baumwollstoff, der Ballen (über 20 Fuß lang) zu 2 Tiao 100 bis 2 Tiao 200 Tientsin-Käsch.

### 37. Kreis Li-hsien (蠡縣).

Haupterzeugnis ist Baumwolle, die zu Stoffen verarbeitet und nach außerhalb verkauft wird. Sonst werden noch Mohn und Herbstbirnen in größeren Mengen gebaut; die Feldfrüchte decken gerade den Bedarf des Kreises.

#### A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse (werden im Kreise verbraucht).

Kaoliang, Gerste, Buchweizen, Linsen, Sesam, Hirse, Erdnüsse, Mohn; Baumwolle, das Catty 140—150 Peking-Käsch, Ertrag etwa 8 000 000 Catty; geht nach außerhalb;  
Herbstbirnen, das Catty über 50 Peking-Käsch, Ertrag über 100 000 Catty; gehen nach Paotingsu.

#### B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Baumwollstoff, der Ballen 1300—1400 Peking-Käsch, Produktion über 200 000 Ballen; werden nach dem Norden verkauft;

Baumwollgarn Weidenkörbe Wistaria chinensis (藤籬 t'eng-lo) Baumwollgürtel	}	werden im Kreise verbraucht
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### 38. Kreis Hsiung-hsien (雄縣).

Das Land ist tiefgelegen, hat unfruchtbaren Boden und eine arme Bevölkerung. Außer den fünf Kornarten werden Hanf, Tabak und Mohn in einiger Menge gebaut. Das Gewerbe betätigt sich im Auskochen von Salpeter, in der Herstellung von Schnüren zum Aufreihen von Käschstücken und in Baumwollweberei. Sonst wird lediglich Landwirtschaft betrieben.

#### A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

Reis, Kaoliang, roter Weizen, weißer Weizen, Buchweizen, Hirse; Tabak, das Catty zu 100—180 Peking-Käsch, geht nach Peking und Tientsin; Ertrag etwa 2—300 000 Catty;

Opium;

Setschuanhanf.

#### B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Salpeter, das Catty etwa 100 Peking-Käsch, geht nach Peking, Tientsin, Paotingsu, Shanhaukuan, Kiangsu und Shantung; Gesamtproduktion etwa 1 000 000 Catty;

Käschschnüre, das Catty 140—150 Peking-Käsch, gehen nach außerhalb; Gesamtproduktion 1—2 000 000 Catty;

Grober Baumwollstoff

Hanfseile

Baumwollgarn

Baumwollschnüren

Körbe, Siebe und Schwingen aus Ruten der Weide und der *Vitex incisa*.

### 39. Departement Chi-chou (祁州).

Berühmte Landesprodukte sind die Samen der Coix lachryma und Rhabarber; erstere werden jährlich als Tribut nach Peking geschickt, letzterer findet als Färbemittel für Seidenstoffe Verwendung. Außerdem gibt es Baumwolle, die zu Stoffen verarbeitet wird. Als hauptsächlichstes Gewerbe wird die Herstellung von Arzneimitteln betrieben.

#### A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

Erzeugnis	Preis für 100 Catty	Ertrag
Samen der Coix lachryma (薏米 <i>i-mi</i> ), gehen jährlich einmal als Tribut an den Hof . . . . .	12 000 Peking-Käsch	einige 1 000 Catty
Rhabarber (大黃 <i>ta-huang</i> ) . . .	5—6 000 .	. 10 000 .
Baumwolle . . . . .	über 10 000 .	— .
Perilla ocymoides (蘇子 <i>su-tzé</i> ) .	5—6 000 .	. 1 000 .
Reishülsen (米壳 <i>mi-k'o</i> ) . . . . .	über 10 000 .	desgl.
Indigo . . . . .	20 000 .	desgl.
Tabak . . . . .	10 000 .	etwa 100 000 .
Bataten . . . . .	7—8 00 .	— .
Erdnüsse . . . . .	4—5 000 .	— .

### B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Arzneimittel, werden nach über zehn Provinzen verkauft;  
Baumwollstoffe, werden im Kreise verbraucht.

## 40. Kreis Tz' ē-lu-hsien (東鹿縣).

An Landesprodukten finden sich neben den fünf Kornarten nur Baumwolle und Erdnüsse; unter den gewerblichen Erzeugnissen gibt es nur wenige Dinge von Wert wie: Salpeter, Schafpelze, schwarzes und grünes Schuhleder und Teppiche, die nach außerhalb verkauft werden.

### A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

Kaoliang, Mais, Sesam, Kornarten, Bohnen;  
Baumwolle, das Catty 50—60 Peking-Käsch; Ertrag etwa 3000000 Catty;  
Erdnüsse, das Catty 30 Peking-Käsch und mehr.

### B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Gewöhnliche Schafpelze, das Stück etwa . . . . .	8000	Peking-Käsch;
Schafpelze mit Winterwolle, das Stück . . . . .	12000	"
Schwarzes Schuhoberleder, das Bündel . . . . .	6—7000	"
Grünes . . . . .	8000	"
Teppiche, der Fuß . . . . .	3—40	"
Filz, beste Qualität, der Ballen . . . . .	8000	"
· geringe Qualität, der Ballen . . . . .	4000	"
Salpeter.		

## 41. Departement An-chou (安州).

Gebaut werden nur die fünf Kornarten. Die Gewerbtätigkeit beschränkt sich auf die Fabrikation von Rohrmatten, die aus Arundo indica (蘆 lu) und Phragmites communis (葦 wei) hergestellt werden. Sonst gibt es keine nennenswerten Produkte.

### A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

Die fünf Kornarten.

### B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Rohrmatten, das Stück 200 Peking-Käsch; Gesamtproduktion 140 bis 150000 Stück.

## 42. Kreis Kao-yang-hsien (高陽縣).

Das Gebiet des Kreises ist klein, der Boden steinig und unfruchtbare. Außer den fünf Kornarten und Gemüsesorten gibt es nur Baumwolle, die zu Stoffen verarbeitet und nach außerhalb verkauft wird. In den letzten Jahren aber sind bei den geringen Ernten die Preise für Baumwolle so gestiegen, daß man ausländisches Garn mit verwebt und so ein um die Hälfte billigeres Produkt herstellt.

## A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

Reis, Hirse, Weizen, Kaoliang, Baunwolle.

## B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Salpeter (aus Erde ausgekocht), etwa 100 000 Catty, das Catty zu 130—150 Peking-Käsch;

Feiner Baunwollstoff, etwa 100 000 Ballen, der Ballen zu 36 Fuß = 2100—2200 Peking-Käsch.

## 43. Departement I-chou (易州).

Die Bewohner sind einfache Leute, die sich nur auf den Bau von Kornarten und Feldfrüchten verstehen. Charakteristische Gewerbe oder Kunstfertigkeiten gibt es nicht.

## A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

Arzneipflanzen, gehen nach Ch'i-chou und Tientsin;  
Obst, geht nach Peking und Tientsin;

vier Arten Färbermittel: Blätter von Aconitum Fischeri Reichb. (烏葉 *wu-yeh*), Eicheln, getrocknete Aprikosen und Rinde von Rhamnus tinctorius (馬綠皮子 *ma-lü-p'i-tsö*), werden nach Peking verkauft;

Tabak, 100 Catty 18 000 Peking-Käsch, geht nach Peking;

Baumwolle, das Catty 800 Peking-Käsch, geht nach Peking und Paotingfu;

Opium, die Unze 1 000 Peking-Käsch, geht nach Peking.

## B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Branntwein, das Catty 240 Peking-Käsch;

Holzkohle, das Catty 2 400 Peking-Käsch;

grober Baumwollstoff, der Fuß 100 Peking-Käsch und mehr; werden im Departement verbraucht.

## 44. Kreis Lai-shui-hsien (涞水縣).

Der Boden ist steinig und unfruchtbar; die arme und ungebildete Bevölkerung treibt nur Ackerbau und keinerlei Gewerbe.

## A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

Arzneipflanzen, gehen nach Ch'i-chou;

Obst, geht nach Peking und Tientsin;

drei Arten Färbermittel: Blätter von Aconitum Fischeri Reichb., Eicheln, Rinde von Rhamnus tinctorius;

Tabak, geht nach Peking.

## B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Branntwein.

## 45. Kreis Kuang-ch'ang-hsien (廣昌縣).

(Fragebogen unausgefüllt.)

Gebaut werden hauptsächlich die fünf Kornarten; besondere Bodenerzeugnisse gibt es nicht. Ein großer Teil der in Gebrauch befindlichen

Gerätschaften wird von außerhalb bezogen, da jedes Geschick zum Gewerbe fehlt.

#### 46. Kreis Shén-tsé-hsien (深澤縣).

(Fragebogen unausgefüllt.)

Der Ackerbau beschränkt sich auf die Kultur von Feldfrüchten und Baumwolle, das Gewerbe auf die Herstellung der allereinfachsten Geräte.

#### 47. Departement Ting-chou (定州).

Das Volk treibt fleißig Ackerbau und Weberei; die Gewerbtätigkeit ist gering.

##### A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

Erzeugnis	Preis	Ertrag
Tabak . . . .	das Catty 45 Käsch	—
Baumwolle . . . .	* * 70 *	120—130 000 Catty; werden hier verbraucht oder gehen nach Tientsin und Paotingsfu
Erdnüsse . . . .	das Catty 20 Käsch und mehr	jährlich 60—70 000 Catty; desgl.
Stärke . . . .	die Unze 350 Käsch und mehr	jährlich über 9 000 Unzen; desgl.

##### B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Erzeugnis	Preis	Ertrag
Baumwollstoff . .	der Ballen 700 Käsch und mehr	jährlich etwa 600—700 000 Ballen; bleiben im Departement
Baumwollbänder . .	der Fuß 50 Käsch	jährlich über 20 000 Fuß; gehen nach dem Nordwesten außerhalb der Großen Mauer
Baumwollsäcke . .	das Stück 450 Käsch	jährlich über 2 000 Stück; desgl.
Erdnußöl . . . .	das Catty 100 *	jährlich für 6—7 000 Taels; wird im Departement und nach Pao-tungs-fu verkauft

Erzeugnis	Preis	Herstellungsort
Stricke aus Schweinsborsten . . . .	das Catty 50 Käsch	aus Nan-mu-lou-ts'un
Rohrmatten . . . .	die Rolle 300 *	* Hsi-pan-ts'un
Rohrkörbe . . . .	das Stück 100 *	* Hsi-t'i-yang-ts'un
Siebe . . . . .	* * 200 *	*
Scheffel (升 shéng) . .	* * 100 *	* Hsi-ts'ao-ts'un
Metzen (斗 tou) . .	* * 1.100 *	* Hsi-ch'eng-ts'un
Geldbretter . . . .	* * 30 *	*
Windfeuer--Augensalbe.	der Topf 200 bis 500 Käsch	von vier Häusern hergestellt; geht in alle Provinzen

} werden im Departement verkauft

### 48. Kreis Ch'ü-yang-hsien (曲陽縣).

Berge umschließen den Kreis. Die Bewohner sind rohe und ungebildete Leute und vermögen keine besondern Gewerbtätigkeiten zu entfalten.

#### A. Natürliche Erzeugnisse.

a) Steinkohle (im Kreise und nach Ting-chou verkauft).

Rauchlose Kohle, beste Sorte aus den untern Schichten;

Ch'ing-kan- (清干) Kohle, glänzend, mit Rauch;

T'ang-mao-tzé- (塘毛子) Kohle, weich, mit Rauch;

Yao-ch'ien- (腰千) Kohle, fest, mit wenig Rauch;

Mo-yü-yēn- (磨淤烟) Kohle, verschiedene Sorten, mit viel Rauch.

#### b) Gesteine.

Granit (青石 *ching-shih*), wird zu Sockeln und Pfeilerfundamenten verarbeitet und nach Li-hsien, Shén-chou und I-shou verkauft;

Marmor (白石 *po-shih*), weiche Struktur, wird im Kreise selbst, in Chéng-ting-fu, Hsin-lo-hsien und Po-yieh-hsien bei Pailoubauten verwandt;

Sandstein (沙石 *sha-shih*), grob, zur Herstellung von landwirtschaftlichen Geräten benutzt;

Feiner Sandstein (沙星石 *sha-hsing-shih*), wird zu Krug- und Topfdeckeln verarbeitet;

Speckstein (滑石 *hua-shih*), hier verbraucht, aber auch nach Ch'i-chou verkauft.

#### c) Pflanzen.

Edelbirnen }  
Herbstbirnen } gehen nach Ting-chou;

Indigo

Indigofera tinctoria (毛兒藍 *mao-érh-lan*) } gehen nach Schansi  
Walnüsse } und Ting-chou.

#### B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Baumwollstoffe, teils im Kreise verbraucht, teils nach Hun-yüan-chou und Kuei-hua-ch'eng in Schansi verhandelt.

### 49. Präfektur Ch'eng-té-fu (承德府) = Jeholgebiet.

#### A. Natürliche Erzeugnisse.

Seidenkokons, gehen nach Peking und Tientsin;

Ziegenfelle }  
Schaffelle } gehen nach Tientsin;

Gold und Silber. Der ganze Ertrag wird, mit Ausnahme des Stollenhiebes (*shéng-k'o*, etwa  $\frac{1}{10}$  Prozent der Bergwerksförderung), von der Regierung gekauft; jeder Privathandel ist verboten. Der jährliche Ertrag ist unbestimmt;

Kohle.

## B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Branntwein, das Catty 100 Käsch und mehr, Jahresproduktion etwa 400—500 000 Catty. Wird an Ort und Stelle verbraucht.

## 50. Kreis Luan-p'ing-hsien (瀘平縣).

Berge beengen das Fruchtland, und Erzeugnisse des Gebirges herrschen vor. Die Bevölkerung betreibt nur Ackerbau und kein Gewerbe.

## A. Natürliche Erzeugnisse.

Erzeugnis	Preis	Absatzgebiet	Ertrag und Ursprung
Seidenkokons . . .	das Catty 350 bis 500 Käsch	Peking	westlich vom Fluß
Akonitblätter . . .	das Catty 0,60 bis 1,40 Taels	Gegend östlich Peking	jährlich 500—600 000 Catty aus den Westbergen
Ziegenfelle . . . .	das Stück 0,27 bis 0,30 Taels	Tientsin	aus Hsien-chieh-t'un
Schaffelle . . . .	das Stück 1 000 bis 1 400 Käsch	desgl.	jährlich etwa 1 000 Stück, aus den Dörfern im Südwesten
Honig . . . . .	das Catty 300 bis 600 Käsch	Peking, Tung- chou	jährlich über 700 Catty, aus den Dörfern im Südwesten
Tabak . . . . .	das Catty 120 bis 150 Käsch	desgl.	jährlich 600—700 000 Catty aus den Dörfern des Roten Banners
Mandeln (hier <i>-ta-pien-fén</i> 大扁分 genannt), in zwei Sorten: süß und bitter.	100 Catty der süßen Sorte 25—26 Taels	Peking, Tient- sin und süd- liche Pro- vinzen	jährlich 100 000 Catty
Codonopsis tangshén Oliv. (黨參 tang-shén).	das Catty 1 400 Käsch	Peking, Tient- sin und Ch'i- chou	—

## 51. Departement P'ing-ch'üan-chou (平泉州).

Die Bevölkerung hängt an der Scholle und betreibt Ackerbau als einzigen Erwerbszweig; Handel und Gewerbe sind daher gering.

## A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

Mohn (罂粟 *ying-li*, Papaver somniferum), die Unze 700 bis über 1 000 Peking-Käsch, je nach der Art; wird nach außerhalb verkauft;

Tabak, das Catty 300—600 Peking-Käsch

Baumwolle

Sesam

Schaf- und Ziegenhäute

Schafwolle

} werden hier verbraucht;

} gehen nach außerhalb.

## B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Teppiche; finden nach außerhalb Absatz.

### 52. Kreis Fēng-ning-hsien (豐寧縣).

Der Kreis liegt außerhalb der Großen Mauer in rauher, unwirtlicher Gegend und kaltem Klima. Der Ackerbau ist gering und Gewerbe existieren nicht.

#### A. Natürliche Erzeugnisse.

Gold  
Silber  
Kupfer  
Kohlen } besondere Ämter unter der Leitung von Delegierten (*wei-yüan*) sind jetzt für die Ausbeutung der Gruben eingerichtet worden;

Ziegenhäute, das Stück 400 Käsch und mehr } werden von fremden Zickenfelle, das Stück 400—500 Käsch und mehr } Händlern gekauft.

#### B. Künstliche Erzeugnisse.

Branntwein, das Catty 160 Käsch; wird im Kreise verbraucht.

### 53. Kreis Chien-ch'ang-hsien (建昌縣).

Die wirtschaftlichen Schätz des Kreises sind noch nicht erschlossen, und die Einsicht des Volkes ist noch nicht aufgetan. Die Werkzeuge sind die allerprimitivsten, und die einzige Industrie ist das Abhaspeln und Verarbeiten von Seidenkokons.

#### A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

Setschuanhanf (青麻 *ching-ma*, *Abutilon avicinnae* Gaertn.);

Hanf (大麻子 *ta-ma-tzé*, *Cannabis sativa*); das daraus gewonnene Öl kostet pro Catty 80—100 Käsch;

Sesam; das daraus gewonnene wohlriechende Öl kostet 100—150 Käsch pro Catty;

Baumwollsaat;

(obige Erzeugnisse werden sämtlich im Kreise verbraucht;)

Indigo, das Catty zu 50—100 Käsch, jährlich 300 000 Catty aus über 50 Häusern bei Liang-fang (梁坊);

Mohn, die Unze 250—350 Käsch; Jahresproduktion 100 000 Unzen, von denen  $\frac{4}{10}$  nach außerhalb gehen;

Tabak, das Catty 40—80 Käsch; jährlich 200 000 Catty, von denen  $\frac{4}{10}$  nach außerhalb gehen;

Kaoliang, das Bund 10—25 Käsch; jährlich über 100 000 Bündel, von denen  $\frac{4}{10}$  nach außerhalb gehen;

Baumwolle, das Catty 200—300 Käsch, deckt nicht den Bedarf des Kreises;

süße Birnen } der Korb 300—400 Käsch, jährlich über 100 000 Körbe,  
saure Jujuben } der Korb zu 50—60 Catty; gehen nach Peking, Ying-

Weintrauben, in den drei Farben grün, rot und gelb, das Catty zu 30—50 Käsch;

Zedernholz, das Bund zu 750 Käsch; wird mit Wasser verrieben und zur Herstellung von Weihrauchstäben benutzt.

## B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Schweinsborsten, das Catty zu 50—80 Käsch, jährlich etwa 30 000 Catty;  
 Schweinsmähnen, das Catty zu 800—1 500 Käsch;  
 Schaffelle, das Catty zu 200—400 Käsch, jährlich etwa 70 000 Catty;  
 werden von freunden Händlern aufgekauft;  
 feine Schafwolle, das Catty zu 200—400 Käsch;  
 grobe      "      "      "      60—100 Käsch und mehr, jährlich  
 etwa 150 000 Catty;  
 Schaftalg      { zur Kerzenfabrikation;  
 Rindertalg      {  
 Kinderhaare zur Filzfabrikation, die Haare eines Felles etwa 100 Käsch,  
 jährlich etwa 1500 Catty;  
 Rindsleder für Wagengeschirre und Schuhsohlen, das Catty 200 bis  
 400 Käsch, jährlich über 20 000 Catty;  
 Honig, das Catty zu 100—200 Käsch;  
 Kokons des Eichenseidenspinners, der in den Bergen auf dem Po-lo-  
 Baum (檉櫟樹 *p'o-lo-shu*, *Quercus castaneafolia*) in nicht zu großer Zahl  
 vorkommt; über 2000 Catty Kokons werden jährlich aus importierten Seiden-  
 spinnereien gezogen und mit Baumwolle zu Halbseide verarbeitet;  
 Alte Fellumpen, zum Auskochen von Leim verwendet, das Catty Leim  
 zu 150 Käsch;  
 Kohle, 100 Catty zu 200—400 Käsch;  
 Kalk, 100 Catty zu 500 Käsch;  
 Goldsand in jährlich verschiedener Ausbeute;  
 Feuersteine in kleinen Stücken, das Catty zu 500 Käsch;  
 Baumwollstoff, der Ballen zu 1200—1500 Käsch; die Produktion ist  
 gering und deckt nicht den Bedarf des Kreises;  
 Hanfpapier, der Packen zu 500—600 Käsch; Jahresproduktion über  
 10 000 Packen aus vier Fabriken;  
 Hanfseile, das Catty zu 70—100 Käsch;  
 Seidenstoff, der Ballen zu 6 000 Käsch;  
 Halbseide, der Ballen zu 5 000—6 000 Käsch.

## 54. Kreis Chih-feng-hsien (赤峰縣).

Das Land ist steinig und unfruchtbar, und die Landwirtschaft be-  
 schränkt sich auf den Anbau der gewöhnlichen Feldfrüchte.

## A. Bodenerzeugnisse.

Mohn, wird allenthalben im Kreise verbraucht;  
 Rotkohle, 100 Catty zu 600—700 Peking-Käsch } wird im Kreise  
 Hartkohle, 100      "      700—800      "      } verbraucht;

## B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Rindshäute, das Catty zu 700 Peking-Käsch } gehen nach Tientsin;  
 Schaffelle,      "      150      "      }  
 Schafwollfilz, große Stücke 5 000—6 000 Peking-Käsch, kleine Stücke  
 2 000—3 000 Peking-Käsch.

### 55. Kreis Ch'ao-yang-hsien (朝陽縣).

Die Landleute bauen nur die fünf Kornarten und Baumwolle; die Industrie kennt nur die Herstellung von Baumwollstoffen und Halbseide.

### 56. Kreis Ho-chien-hsien (河間縣).

Die hauptsächlichsten Erzeugnisse sind Jujuben und Birnen. Da aber die Jujubenhäume Trockenheit und Sonnenschein, die Birnbäume Regen lieben, so ist es schwer, in demselben Jahre reiche Ernten beider Arten zu erzielen, vielmehr setzen Regen oder Trockenheit dem Ertrag gewisse Grenzen.

Birnen, das Catty zu 20 Käsch und mehr;

Jujuben, desgl.;

werden teils im Kreise verbraucht, teils nach außerhalb verkauft.

### 57. Kreis Hsien-hsien (獻縣).

Das Gebiet des Kreises ist Flachland. In der Nähe des Flusses mischen sich Sandboden und schwarze Erde zu gleichen Teilen; weiter ab vom Fluß ist alles schwarze Erde. Wenn der Sandboden nicht aufplatzt, kann er gut Trockenheit und Nässe vertragen und eignet sich vorzüglich zum Anbau von Weizen; bei normalen Niederschlägen sind aber doch die Erträge des schwarzen Bodens bei weitem bessere.

#### A. Bodenerzeugnisse.

Kleine Jujuben, Wasserkastanien (棗菱 *tsao-ling*, *Trapa bispinosa* Roxb. und 婆聚 *p'o-tsao*, *Scirpus tuberosus* Roxb.), jährlich 30—40000 Taels; Birnenarten, jährlicher Ertrag nicht zu ermitteln; Weihrauch, jährlich über 10000 Taels.

#### B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Strohborten, früher jährlich im Werte von über 20000 Taels ausgeführt. Seitdem diese Ware auch in Japan hergestellt wird, ist der Jahresertrag auf 10000 Tiao Peking-Käsch gefallen und deckt nur den Bedarf des Kreises;

Strohfächer, werden im Kreise verbraucht.

### 58. Kreis Fu-ch'eng-hsien (阜城縣).

Der Boden des Kreises ist natronhaltig und unfruchtbar und nicht für Anpflanzungen geeignet. Außer den fünf Kornarten werden nur Persimonen- und Birnbäume gebaut. Die Industrie stellt Gürtel, Kopfbänder und dergleichen Sachen her, die guten Absatz finden.

#### Erzeugnisse.

Baumwollne Gürtel, Jahresproduktion 30000 Tiao Peking-Käsch; Kopfbänder, Jahresproduktion 30—40000 Tiao Peking-Käsch;

Baumwollstoffe, der Ballen zu über 1000 Peking-Käsch, Jahresproduktion 4—5000 Tiao Peking-Käsch;

Säcke, das Stück zu 3—400 Peking-Käsch und mehr, Jahresproduktion 2—3000 Tiao Peking-Käsch.

(Alle diese Waren werden teils im Kreise verbraucht, teils gehen sie nach Peking, Schansi, Kansu, Schensi, Mukden und Jehol.)

### 59. Kreis Su-ning-hsien (肅寧縣).

Das ganze Gebiet des Kreises ist nicht groß, und die Einwohner beschäftigen sich hauptsächlich mit Ackerbau. Obwohl es keine blühenden Märkte gibt, fehlt es doch den Dörfern nicht an Wohlstand. Alle Erzeugnisse sind rein landwirtschaftlicher Art, besondere Industrien existieren nicht.

#### A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

a) Birnen: der Lehmboden im Südosten des Kreises trägt je nach den Regenverhältnissen reiche oder geringe Ernten; der Preis stellt sich auf 12 Peking-Käsch pro Stück, steigt aber in schlechten Erntejahren auf das Doppelte. Der Vertrieb geschieht durch eine große Anzahl kleiner Händler;

b) Erdnüsse: das Catty zu 20 Peking-Käsch und mehr, in schlechten Jahren das Doppelte; werden hauptsächlich im Sandboden des nördlichen Teiles gebaut und nach Tientsin verkauft;

c) Baumwolle: wächst im Sandboden des Nordwestens. Die Wolle ist dicht und von schöner Beschaffenheit; leider ist nicht genug geeigneter Boden vorhanden, um größere Mengen zu ziehen. Das Catty stellt sich auf 160 Peking-Käsch und mehr, in schlechten Jahren bis zu 230 Peking-Käsch, und wird stets mit den Samenkörnern gewogen. Ungefähr der vierte Teil aller Einwohner des Kreises baut Baumwolle, doch deckt der Ertrag nicht den Bedarf der Bevölkerung;

d) Opium: an Geschmack nicht so gut wie das der Nachbarbezirke, die Unze zu 350—360 Peking-Käsch; der Ertrag deckt nicht den Bedarf des Kreises. Die jährlich gezahlte Opiumsteuer beträgt 400 Tiao Peking-Käsch;

e) Tabak: auf einer Kulturläche von etwas über 100 Mou, das Catty zu etwa 100 Peking-Käsch. Der Ertrag wird im Kreise verbraucht. Die vierteljährliche Tabaksteuer beträgt 40 Tiao Peking-Käsch.

#### B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

a) Grober Baumwollstoff: Jahresproduktion über 100 000 Ballen, der Ballen zu 1800—2200 Peking-Käsch, geht hauptsächlich nach Yü-chou und von dort weiter nach außerhalb der Großen Mauer. Während des Winters werden allenthalben im Kreise derartige Stoffe hergestellt;

b) Kochkessel: besser als die aus dem benachbarten Kreise Jao-yang-hsien, das Catty etwa 200 Peking-Käsch. Früher wurden jährlich über 100 000 Catty abgesetzt, jetzt ist der Absatz auf 20 000 Catty zurückgegangen.

### 60. Kreis Jén-chiu-hsien (任邱縣).

(Liste unausgefüllt.)

Die Bauernbevölkerung lebt von den Erträginnen des Feldes. Außer Hirse, Kaoliang, Baumwolle, Mohn und Hanf wird nichts weiter gebaut. Das Gewerbe beschränkt sich auf die Herstellung von Baumwollstoffen, doch ist die Qualität so grob und der Preis so hoch, daß nichts davon nach auswärts verkauft werden kann.

### 61. Kreis Chiao-ho-hsien (交河縣).

Das Land muß arm genannt werden. Von der eingesessenen Bevölkerung ziehen viele in die Fremde, um dort einen Erwerb zu finden. Die hauptsächlichsten Erzeugnisse sind lediglich die allergewöhnlichsten landwirtschaftlichen Produkte.

#### A. Bodenerzeugnisse.

Birnen, jährlich 3—4 000 000 Catty } werden von Händlern aufgekauft  
Jujuben, jährlich 80—90 000 Picul } und nach Tientsin gebracht.

#### B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Weißer Baumwollstoff, jährlich 50—60 000 Ballen, von denen 20 bis 30 000 nach außerhalb gehen.

### 62. Kreis Ning-ching-hsien (寧津縣).

Das Gebiet ist klein, die Bevölkerung arm und der Ertrag des Ackerbaues gering. Getreide und Feldfrüchte decken nicht einmal den Bedarf des Kreises selbst, geschweige denn werden sie nach außerhalb verkauft.

#### A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

Erdnüsse, 100 Catty zu 2200 Käsch und mehr; finden auch Absatz nach außerhalb.

#### B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Erdnußöl, 100 Catty zu 7700 Käsch und mehr;

Bänder aus fremdem Garn mit Pfirsichblütenmuster, 100 Zoll zu 6 Taels;

Bänder aus fremdem Garn mit Muster der acht Diagramme, 100 Zoll zu 5 Taels;

Bänder aus fremdem Garn mit neunfachen Pflaumenblüten, 100 Zoll zu 4 Taels;

Bänder aus fremdem Garn mit dem Charakter »langes Leben« und Pflaumenblüten, 100 Zoll zu 3 Taels;

Bänder aus fremdem Garn mit dreifachem Charakter »langes Leben«, 100 Zoll zu 2 Taels;

geringere Muster zu 200—1 000 Peking-Käsch.

### 63. Departement Ching-chou (淸州). (Liste unausgeführt.)

Das Departement hat keine besondern Produkte. Die Bevölkerung ist jetzt amtlich ermuntert worden, Obst- und Maulbeeräume anzupflanzen und die Fabrikation von Strohborten in Angriff zu nehmen; auch besteht die Absicht, eine landwirtschaftliche Elementarschule einzurichten.

### 64. Kreis Wu-chiao-hsien (吳橋縣).

Der jährliche Ertrag aller landwirtschaftlichen und gewerblichen Erzeugnisse des Kreises beläuft sich im Durchschnitt auf über zwei Millionen Tiao; da die Bevölkerung zur Zeit über 200 000 Seelen zählt, entfällt mithin auf den Kopf ein Jahresverdienst von 10 Tiao.

#### A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

Baumwolle: a) Rohbaumwolle, das Catty zu 70 Käsch, Jahresertrag etwa 600 000 Catty; b) Gereinigte Baumwolle, das Catty zu 200 Käsch, Jahresertrag etwa 100 000 Catty; wird auf etwa 200 000 Mou Land von über 30 000 Familien gebaut und nach Tientsin, Schantung, Schausi und Honan verkauft;

Porzellanbirnen (磁梨 *ts'ē-li*) das Catty zu 24 Käsch, jährlich über 100 000 Catty; gehen nach Tientsin und Schantung; wachsen hauptsächlich im Südosten des Kreises;

große rote Jujuben, das Catty zu 16 Käsch, jährlich über 150 000 Catty; gehen nach Honan, Kiangnan, Chékiang und Anhui; wachsen überall im Kreise;

Wassermelonen (西瓜 *hsı-kua*, *Citrullus vulgaris*), das Catty zu 50 Käsch, auf etwa 3 000 Mou gebaut, werden nach Tientsin verkauft;

Hamilmelonen (哈密瓜 *ha-mi-kua*), das Catty zu 70 Käsch, auf 2 000 Mou südlich der Kreisstadt gebaut, gehen nach Tientsin;

weiße und rote Bataten, 100 Catty zu 500 Käsch, werden auf über 2 000 Mou gebaut und gehen in einer Menge von 3 000 000 Catty jährlich nach Tientsin und Schantung.

#### B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Bambussaftsalbe (竹瀝膏 *shu-li-kao*), aus Bambus gekocht, das Catty zu 240 Käsch, geht in Werte von über 1 000 Tiao Käsch nach Schantung, Honan und Kiangnan. Wird in der Kreisstadt selbst und außerhalb nur von zwei Familien hergestellt;

grober Baumwollstoff, der Ballen zu 550 Käsch. Das Garn wurde ursprünglich alles im Kreise selbst gesponnen; neuerdings verwendet man meist ausländisches Garn. Etwa 150 000 Ballen gehen jährlich nach Tientsin und Schantung; die Webarbeit wird fast ausschließlich von den Frauen der Dörfer geleistet;

Baumwollgarn, das Catty einfaches Garn zu 400 Käsch, das Catty doppeltes Garn zu 600 Käsch, wird im Werte von 3 000 Tiao alljährlich im Kreise selber verbraucht;

geflochtene Körbe, große das Stück zu 300 Käsch, kleine zu 100 Käsch, werden jährlich im Werte von 2000 Tiao im Kreise abgesetzt und von über 2000 Familien fabriziert;

Handtücher, das Stück zu 60 Käsch, werden jährlich im Werte von über 3000 Tiao teils im Kreise selbst, teils in der Nachbarschaft verkauft und in über 3000 Familien hergestellt;

Strohkörbe, große das Stück zu 800 Käsch, kleine zu 400 Käsch; jährlicher Absatz im Kreise und in der Nachbarschaft etwa 5000 Stück. Im Südosten der Kreisstadt von über 110 Familien hergestellt;

Schilfmatten, die Rolle zu 200 Käsch, jährlicher Absatz im Kreise und in der Nachbarschaft 80—90 000 Rollen, werden von etwa 20 Familien hergestellt;

Haarnadeln aus Rinderknochen, das Stück zu 5 Käsch, Jahresproduktion im Werte von 2000 Tiao, werden in über 20 Familien hergestellt und im Kreise selbst und den angrenzenden Bezirken verkauft.

### 65. Kreis Ku-chéng-hsien (故城縣).

Der Umfang des Kreises beträgt nur etwas über 200 Li. Der Boden zählt weite Uferstrecken und ist zur Hälfte mit Sand bedeckt. Die Erträge decken knapp den Bedarf der eingesessenen Bevölkerung.

#### A. Bodenerzeugnisse.

Erdnüsse, das Catty zu 40 Peking-Käsch } werden im Kreise  
Baumwolle, das Catty zu 120 Peking-Käsch } verbraucht.

#### B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Grober weißer Baumwollstoff, der Ballen zu 1800 Peking-Käsch; etwa 50—60 000 Ballen gehen jährlich nach Schansi. Die Webereien liegen im Westen des Kreises in Wu-mao-ts'un (吳茂村) und Umgegend;

Nudeln (die Tributnudeln des Kreises Én-hsien (恩縣) in Schaltung werden hier eingekauft), das Catty zu 110—160 Peking-Käsch. Etwa 200 000 Catty werden jährlich nach außerhalb verkauft. Es gibt 17 Nudelfabriken.

### 66. Kreis Tung-kuang-hsien (東光縣).

(Liste unausgefüllt)

Der Boden erzeugt nur die fünf Kornarten, Feldfrüchte und Baumwolle; die Gewerbtätigkeit beschränkt sich auf die Herstellung von grobem weißen Baumwollstoff und Baumwollgürteln, doch wird von den Produkten nichts nach außerhalb verkauft.

### 67. Kreis T'ien-ching-hsien (天津縣) = Tientsin.

Tientsin ist ein wichtiger Knotenpunkt für den Verkehr zu Wasser und zu Lande und ein großer Vertragshafen, wo sich Hunderte von Waren wie Wolken zusammenballen. Der Handel ist äußerst blühend; doch kommen alle Waren vom Auslande, von andern Provinzen oder aus den benachbarten

Kreisen. Die Erzeugnisse des Kreises selbst sind nur gering, so daß sich eine Liste derselben sehr dürftig ausnimmt.

#### A. Bodenerzeugnisse.

Salz, aus Lu-t'ai (蘆台);

Fische, aus den seichten Gewässern im Osten und Westen;

Reis, aus Hsiao-chan (小站);

Hanf            } aus dem Osten des Kreises;  
Winterkohl    }

teils im Kreise verbraucht, teils bis nach Honan hin verkauft.

#### B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Kaoliangwein    } gehen nach andern Provinzen.  
verschiedene Liköre }

### 68. Kreis Ching-hsien (青縣).

Der Kreis liegt am Kaiserkanal und hat niedrigen, oft überfluteten Boden. Die Äcker sind der häufig wiederkehrenden Überschwemmungen wegen unfruchtbar, und alle Anpflanzungen können nur mit großer Mühe bis zur Ernte durchgebracht werden. Haupterzeugnisse sind Strohhüte und Strohborten, die von Frauen aus dem Stroh des Winterweizens hergestellt werden; sie werden von fremden Firmen aufgekauft.

#### A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

Jujuben, Birnen; werden im Kreise verbraucht;  
Winterweizenhalme.

#### B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Feine Strohluntflechten, das Stück 39,50 Fuß, das Bund zu 240 Stück;  
grobe                 \*                  42                 \*                  240                 \*

schwarze Borten, das Bund zu 40—60 Taels, Jahresproduktion 100  
bis 700 Bund;

weiße Borten, das Bund zu 60—140 Taels, Jahresproduktion 200  
bis 1000 Bund;

(werden nach Tientsin verkauft).

### 69. Kreis Ching-hai-hsien (靜海縣).

Der Kreis liegt am Meere; der Boden ist unfruchtbar und die Bevölkerung arm. Bodenerzeugnisse sind nur die fünf Kornarten, Gemüse, Gurkengewächse, Obst, Baumwolle, Trauben und Hanf; gewerbliche Erzeugnisse sind Branntwein, Essig und Strohborten. Besondere Kunstfertigkeiten gibt es nicht.

#### A. Bodenerzeugnisse.

a) Getreidearten, werden im Kreise verbraucht: Reis, roter und weißer Kaoliang, Winter- und Sommerweizen, Hirse, Buchweizen, Mais, Hanf, Bohnen in allen Farben;

- b) Gemüse, werden im Kreise verbraucht: Kohl, Senf, Petersilie, Lotus, Lauch, Zwiebeln, Rüben, Kartoffeln, Möhren, Eierpflanzen (茄子 ch'ieh-tsé, Solanum melongena);
- c) Gurkengewächse, werden nach Tientsin verkauft: Wassermelonen (西瓜 hsi-kua, Citrullus vulgaris), süße Melonen (甜瓜 t'ien-kua, Cucumis melo), Cucumis conomon Thbg. (菜瓜 ts'ai-kua), Thladiantha dubia Bge. (王瓜 wang-kua);
- d) Obst, wird nach Tientsin verkauft: Pfirsiche, Aprikosen, Jujuben, Birnen, Weintrauben, Wasserkastanien;
- e) Baumwolle, deckt nicht den Bedarf des Kreises;
- f) Mohnkapseln, gehen nach außerhalb.

#### B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

- a) Schilfmatten, Schilffächer, Schilfkörbe, aus Tu-liu-chén (獨流鎮);
- b) Rohrgeflechte, Rohrkörbe, aus Tu-liu-chén, Wa-tzé-t'ou-chén (瓦子頭鎮) und 20—30 benachbarten Dörfern;
- c) Branntwein, geht nach Tientsin, Honan und Schantung;
- d) Essig und Soya, gehen jährlich im Werte von 4000—5000 Tiao Peking-Käsch nach Tientsin, Honan und Schantung;
- e) Strohhüte, aus Chung-wang-ts'un (中旺村) und Umgegend.

#### 70. Departement Ts ang-chou (滄州).

Hauptsächlich werden Erdnüsse und Baumwolle gebaut, die beide gute Erträge liefern. Gegenwärtig ist man bestrebt, die Landbevölkerung zu rationellen Kulturmethoden anzuhalten. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse sind Strohhüte, Strohborten, Branntwein und eingesalzene Wintergemüse.

#### A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

- Sommer- und Winterweizen, Kornarten, Hanf, roter und weißer Kaoliang, Mais, Hirse, Buchweizen, schwarze Bohnen, gelbe Bohnen, Linsen, Weißkohl, Lauch, Zwiebeln, Weintrauben, Eierpflanzen, Sellerie, Gurkengewächse, Spinat, Schoten; werden im Kreise verbraucht;
- Kartoffeln, 100 Catty zu 2800 Peking-Käsch;
- Dill (茴香菜 hui-hsiang-ts'ai, Faeniculum dulce), das Catty zu über 10 Peking-Käsch;
- Baumwolle, das Catty zu 400—500 Peking-Käsch;
- Erdnüsse, das Catty zu 4000—5000 Peking-Käsch;
- süße Kartoffeln (紅薯 hung-shu, Ipomoea fastigiata).

#### B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Strohhutflechten, grobe Flechten 50—60 Peking-Käsch, feine 100 bis 200 Peking-Käsch, werden jährlich im Werte von über 20000 Taels nach Yünnan und Kuangtung verkauft;

Branntwein, das Catty zu 250 Peking-Käsch. Die jährlich in 21 Brennereien hergestellten 180 000 Catty werden im Kreise verbraucht; Salz, etwa 3 500 000 Catty gehen jährlich nach außerhalb; eingesalzene Gemüse, das Catty zu 170—180 Peking-Käsch, aus 7—8 Fabriken, werden nach Paotingfu und Tientsin verkauft.

### 71. Kreis Nan-p'i-hsien (南皮縣).

Die Dörfer im Nordwesten des Kreises liegen in einem Überschwemmungsgebiete mit unfruchtbarem Boden; die Dörfer im Südosten liegen höher und haben gutes Ackerland. Auf über 25 000 Mou wird hauptsächlich Baumwolle gebaut.

#### A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

Baumwolle, das Catty zu 180 Peking-Käsch, auf 25 000 Mou gebaut; der Mou liefert etwa 60 Catty;

Erdnüsse, das Catty zu 36 Peking-Käsch, auf 2800 Mou gebaut; der Mou liefert etwa 500—600 Catty;

Tabak, von den einzelnen Haushaltungen gebaut.

#### B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Salpeter, das Catty zu 120 Peking-Käsch, jährlich über 1000 Catty.

### 72. Kreis Yēn-shan-hsien (鹽山縣).

Außer den fünf Kornarten erzeugt der Boden des Kreises nur Baumwolle, Batateu, Erdnüsse, Gemüse, Gurkengewächse und Obst; Industriezweige sind nur Branntweinfabrikation und Baumwollweberei, doch werden die Produkte beider nicht nach außerhalb verkauft.

#### A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

Baumwolle, rohe Baumwolle, das Catty zu 250 Peking-Käsch;

reine                480

Erdnüsse, das Catty zu 48 Peking-Käsch;

rote Bataten, das Catty zu 9 Peking-Käsch;

Sesam, das Tou (斗) 1900 Peking-Käsch und mehr; werden im Kreise verbraucht.

#### B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Branntwein, das Catty zu 200 Peking-Käsch, in sechs Brennereien hergestellt;

Baumwollstoff, grober der Fuß zu 80—90 Peking-Käsch, feiner der Fuß zu 110 Peking-Käsch; (werden im Kreise verbraucht).

### 73. Kreis Ch'ing-yün-hsien (慶雲縣).

Das Land ist unfruchtbare und die Bevölkerung arin. Weite Strecken sind mit Sand bedeckt oder natronhaltig und nicht zur Bebauung geeignet, so daß die Erträge nur gering sind. Die Einwohner sind einfältige, ungebildete Bauern und kennen keine Industrien.

A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

Kaoliang, Weizen, Mais, Pfirsiche, Birnen, Aprikosen, Jujuben; werden im Kreise verbraucht.

B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Baumwollstoff, für den Bedarf des Kreises.

**74. Kreis Chéng-ting-hsien (正定縣).**

Der Kreis bringt außer verschiedenen Getreidearten als Haupterzeugnis Baumwolle hervor. Gewerbliches Produkt ist nur weißer Baumwollstoff; zur Herstellung anderer Sachen fehlt es an geschickten Händen.

A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

Baumwolle, hauptsächlich von Hu-t'o-ho (滹沱河) und Nants'un-chuang (南村莊) bis Yung-au-ku-ts'un (永安賈村) nördlich der Kreisstadt gebaut;

Erdfüsse, auf dem Sandboden nördlich der Kreisstadt;

Tabak, in der Kreisstadt;

Weißkohlsaat, wird nach 7—8 Provinzen verschickt;

rote Rüben, auf einigen 10 Mou gebaut;

Reis, im Nordwesten bei Ch'ü-yang-ch'iao (曲陽橋), aber nicht viel.

B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Weißen Baumwollstoff, jährlich über 100 000 Ballen.

**75. Kreis Huo-lu-hsien (獲鹿縣).**

Der Boden ist unfruchtbar und trägt keinerlei beinnerkenswerte Erzeugnisse; dagegen werden im Kreise viele Waren lebhaft gehandelt, besonders Kohl und Eisen, die beide aus Schansi kommen. Das hauptsächlichste Industrieprodukt ist Baumwollstoff.

A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

Jujuben, Walnüsse, Persimonen, Granatäpfel; werden im Kreise verbraucht;

Weizen, Kaoliang, gelbe Bohnen, schwarze Bohnen; werden auch nach außerhalb verkauft;

Baumwolle, das Catty zu 220 Käsch; wird nach außerhalb verkauft;

Tabak (wenig), das Catty zu 110—120 Käsch } wird im Kreise

Indigo      \*      \*      \* 220 Käsch      } verbraucht.

B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Rohseide, das Catty zu 3600—3700 Käsch, nur wenig vorhanden;

Pongee, der Ballen zu 8200—8300 Käsch;

Baumwollstoff, der Preis je nach Qualität des Stoffes und Größe des Ballens;

Kamelhaarfilz, Teppiche in fünf Farben, der Quadratfuß 170—180 Käsch; halbseidne Kleiderstoffe, nur wenig, das Stück je nach Größe; Kalkstein, das Catty zu 20 Käsch und mehr.

### 76. Kreis Ching-hsing-hsien (井陘縣).

Der Kreis liegt am Fuße des Gebirges, die Bevölkerung ist ungebildet, und unter den Erzeugnissen des Ackerbaues und des Gewerbes gibt es nichts Bemerkenswertes.

#### A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

Die fünf Kornarten.

#### B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Grobe Tonfässer, von 10 Familien fabriziert;

    • Schüsseln,   • 5   •   •

werden im Werte von 6—7000 Tiao nach außerhalb verkauft;

Weihrauchpulver, das Catty 11—12 Peking-Käsch, wird im Werte von 5—6000 Tiao Peking-Käsch nach außerhalb versandt und von 60 bis 70 Häusern hergestellt;

kandierte Persimonen, das Catty zu 110—120 Peking-Käsch, nur wenig gehandelt;

Kalkstein   } nur wenig gehandelt.  
Ziegel       }

### 77. Kreis Fou-ping-hsien (阜平縣).

Die beiden hauptsächlichsten Erzeugnisse des Kreises sind Tabakblätter und Branntwein aus Jujuben, für welche bereits ein Steueramt eingerichtet ist. Außerdem wird noch etwas Indigo nach außerhalb verkauft; sonst gibt es aber weiter keinerlei Industrieerzeugnisse.

#### A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

Getreidearten, Reis, Hirse, Buchweizen, Bohnen, Hanf, Sesam, Mais; Kastanien, Birnen, Jujuben, Pfirsiche, Aprikosen, Pflaumen, Walnüsse; Tabak, das Catty zu etwa 40—50 Käsch } werden auch nach Indigo,   •   •   • über 200 Käsch } außerhalb verkauft.

#### B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Jujuben und Branntwein, das Catty zu 120 Käsch, wird nach außerhalb verkauft;

Holzkohle, das Catty zu 15 Käsch   } im Kreise verbraucht.  
Kalkstein,   •   •   • 5—6 Käsch }

### 78. Kreis Luan-ch'eng-hsien (樂城縣).

Haupterzeugnis des Kreises ist Baumwolle; da sich der Boden für deren Kultur eignet, werden verhältnismäßig gute Erträge erzielt. Die Industrie stellt Baumwollstoffe her, die haltbarer sind als die ausländischen;

doch haben sich in letzter Zeit infolge des Teurerwerdens der Rohbaumwolle und der Verringerung der einheimischen Produktion die ausländischen Fabrikate sehr eingebürgert. Es besteht jetzt die Absicht, Maschinen zu kaufen und selber dergleichen Stoffe zu weben.

#### A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

Baumwolle, das Catty zu 80 Käsch, Jahresproduktion im Werte von 46 000 Taels; geht viel nach außerhalb.

#### B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Baumwollstoff, der Ballen von 24 Fuß Länge und 1,10 Fuß Breite 800 Peking-Käsch und mehr; wird im Kreise verbraucht.

### 79. Kreis Hsing-t'ang-hsien (行唐縣).

(Liste unausgeführt.)

Außer den fünf Kornarten, Gemüsen und Obst gibt es keine Boden-erzeugnisse, außer den alltäglichen Ackergerätschaften keine Industrie-produkte.

### 80. Kreis Ling-shou-hsien (靈壽縣).

Der Boden des Kreises ist unfruchtbar und die Bevölkerung ungebildet. Da das Land am Fuße des Gebirges liegt, ist es zur Hälfte steinig und überall trocken; nur bei reichlichem Regen kann geackert werden, weil sich der Boden schon bei geringer Trockenheit in dürre Steinwüsten verwandelt. Haupterzeugnisse sind Feldfrüchte; daneben hat in den letzten Jahren die Baumwollkultur verhältnismäßig zugenommen.

#### A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

Getreidesorten, Reis, Weizen, Hirse, Mais, Kaoliang;  
Baumwolle;  
Obstarten, Birnen, Jujuben;  
werden im Kreise verbraucht.

#### B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Baumwollstoffe; werden im Kreise verbraucht.

### 81. Kreis P'ing-shan-hsien (平山縣).

(Liste unausgeführt.)

Das Land erzeugt nur die fünf Kornarten, Gemüse, Obst und Baumwolle; hergestellt werden nur almodische Gegenstände für den Bedarf des täglichen Lebens.

### 82. Kreis Yüan-shih-hsien (元氏縣).

(Liste unausgeführt.)

Das Land erzeugt nur die fünf Kornarten und einige Sorten Feldfrüchte, Birnen und Jujuben; hergestellt werden nur die althergebrachten Gebrauchsgegenstände des täglichen Lebens.

### 83. Kreis Tsan-huang-hsien (贊皇縣).

Der ganze Weststreifen des Kreises stößt von Norden bis Süden an hohe Gebirgszüge und eignet sich nicht zur Anpflanzung von Bäumen. Die Hälfte der Bevölkerung lebt vom Ertrage des Handels mit Kohlen, Holzkohlen und Obst. Im Osten des Kreises werden die fünf Kornarten und Baumwolle gebaut.

#### Bodenerzeugnisse.

Kornarten, Weizen, Reis	}	
Birnen, Jujuben		nur für den Bedarf des Kreises.
Kohle, Holzkohle		

### 84. Departement Chin-chou (晉州).

Haupterzeugnis des Departements ist, abgesehen von den fünf Kornarten, Baumwolle; das Gewerbe beschränkt sich auf die Herstellung von groben Baumwollstoffen, zu denen die selbstgebaute Baumwolle verarbeitet wird.

#### A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

Erdnüsse, werden zur Ölbereitung verwandt;

Birnen, werden auch nach außerhalb verkauft;

Pappeln, Sophora japonica, Ulmen, Weiden, Lebensbäume, Judasbäume, werden als Nutzholz verwandt.

#### B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Grober Baumwollstoff, wird auch nach außerhalb verkauft.

### 85. Kreis Wu-chi-hsien (無極縣).

Der Boden im Gebiete des Kreises ist sandiger und salzhaltiger Natur, auf dem Baumwolle immer noch besser wächst als die fünf Kornarten. Auf dem Sande werden Erdnüsse gebaut, aus denen Öl gepreßt wird, dessen Verkauf immer noch reichen Nutzen bringt. Die Industrie beschränkt sich auf die Herstellung grober Baumwollstoffe.

#### A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

Kornarten, Weizen, Kaoliang, Bohnen;

Baumwolle: Saat, das Catty zu 50—60 Peking-Käsch, wird in die Nachbarschaft und bis nach Schansi verkauft; Garn, die Unze zu 40 bis 50 Peking-Käsch, geht nach der Gegend von Kuei-hua-ch'eng;

Erdnüsse: Öl, das Catty zu 80—90 Peking-Käsch, geht in die Nachbarschaft und nach Peking; Preßrückstände, das Catty zu 70—80 Peking-Käsch, gehen nach Peking und Umgegend.

#### B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Grober Baumwollstoff, nur für den Bedarf des Kreises.

### 86. Kreis Kao-ch'eng-hsien (藁城縣).

Erzeugnis des Kreises ist neben den fünf Kornarten nur Baumwolle, während die menschliche Arbeit nur Baumwollstoffe herstellt, die im Kreise, aber nicht auch nach außerhalb gehandelt werden.

#### A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

Baumwolle, über 200 000 Catty gehen nach außerhalb; Erdnüsse, werden an Ort und Stelle verspeist; Opium, wird im Kreise verbraucht.

#### B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Baumwollstoffe, nur für den Bedarf des Kreises.

### 87. Kreis Hsin-lo-hsien (新樂縣).

Die beiden Haupterzeugnisse des Kreises sind Jujuben und Birnen, mit denen ein lebhafter Handel getrieben wird; außer der Fabrikation von Baumwollstoffen gibt es weiter keine Industrie.

#### A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

Die fünf Kornarten, werden im Kreise verbraucht;

Birnen, hauptsächlich aus den Dörfern Tzé-yén-lou-ts'un (紫烟樓村) und Umgegend im Osten;

Birnen, hauptsächlich aus den Dörfern Chéng-mo-ts'un (正莫村) und Umgegend im Norden;

Baumwolle, nur geringer Jahresertrag.

#### B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Grober Baumwollstoff.

### 88. Departement Chi-chou (冀州).

(Liste unausgefüllt.)

Außer den fünf Kornarten gibt es als Erzeugnisse nur Erdnüsse und Salpeter; sonst gibt es keinerlei bemerkenswerte Boden- oder Industrieprodukte.

### 89. Kreis Nan-kung-hsien (南宮縣).

Das Gebiet ist klein und die Bevölkerung sehr stark; die Einwohner sind zur Hälfte Bauern, zur Hälfte Händelsleute. Die Frauen weben aus Baumwolle Stoffe, sonst gibt es keine Industrie.

#### A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

Baumwolle, wird zu Webezwecken im Kreise gebraucht.

#### B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Grober Baumwollstoff, der Ballen zu 1 Tiao und 1—200 Peking-Käsch; blauweißer Baumwollstoff, der Ballen zu 2 Tiao und 400—500 Peking-Käsch. Diese Stoffe werden überall lebhaft gehandelt.

### 90. Kreis Hsin-ho-hsien (新河縣).

Der ganze Boden ist unfruchtbar und salpeter- und natronhaltig, so daß nur wenig gedeiht. Gebaut werden Getreide, Bohnen und Gemüse, doch vermag man keine reichen Ernten zu erzielen.

#### A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

Baumwolle, verhältnismäßig viel gebaut, wird nach außerhalb verkauft; Erdnüsse, desgl.

#### B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Grober Baumwollstoff.

### 91. Kreis Tsao-ch'iang-hsien (襄強縣).

Hauptprodukte des Kreises sind Schafwolle und Rindshäute, zu deren Ankauf fremde Händler in großer Zahl hierherkommen. Das Gewerbe stellt vornehmlich weiße Baumwollstoffe her; doch hat diese Industrie erheblich nachgelassen, seitdem ausländische Baumwollstoffe hierher eingeführt werden.

#### A. Natürliche Erzeugnisse.

Baumwolle, das Catty etwa 400 Peking-Käsch	} werden im Kreise Erdnüsse, das Catty 5—6 Tiao Peking-Käsch	} verbraucht;
Schafwolle		
Rindshäute	Katzenfelle;	
	Hundefelle.	

Alle die obengenannten Felle, mit deren Handel sich 13 Häuser befassen, bringen einen Jahresertrag von etwa 10 000 Taels.

#### B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Weißer Baumwollstoff;

Filzhüte, das Stück zu 300—400 Peking-Käsch; werden von neun Häusern hergestellt und nach außerhalb verkauft.

### 92. Kreis Wu-yi-hsien (武邑縣).

(Liste unausgefüllt.)

Die Ernten der Bauern kennen außer den fünf Kornarten keine andern Erträge. Die Erzeugnisse menschlicher Kunstfertigkeit sind die vom Volke täglich gebrauchten Gegenstände.

### 93. Kreis Hêng-shui-hsien (衡水縣).

Das Gebiet des Kreises ist trocken und steinig und nicht für den Landbau geeignet. Der Geist der Bevölkerung ist noch nicht geweckt, so daß nur einige wenige Dinge hergestellt werden.

#### A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

Baumwolle, das Catty einmal 10 Peking-Käsch	} werden im Kreise Erdnüsse, werden sehr billig verkauft	} verbraucht.
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### B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Branntwein, das Catty zu 240 Käsch, in 24 Brennereien hergestellt.  
481 000 Catty gehen nach Schantung und Honan;

Pinsel, 50—100 Käsch, von über zehn Häusern hergestellt. Über 103 000 Stück gehen jährlich nach Peking, Tientsin, Paotungfu, Schantung, Schausi und Schensi.

### 94. Departement Chao-chou (趙州).

Die Einwohner sind noch einfältig und ungebildet. Sie verstehen sich lediglich auf die Herstellung der von alters her verfertigten Gebrauchsgegenstände und vermögen nicht einzusehen, daß eine Änderung zu ihrem Nutzen reichen Vorteil bringen würde.

#### A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

Baumwolle, das Catty zu 200—220 Käsch, wird von Händlern gekauft; Birnen, das Catty zu 30 Käsch.

#### B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Feiner weißer Baumwollstoff, der Ballen  $30 \times 6$  Fuß und 2 Catty schwer, zu 900 Käsch;

grober weißer Baumwollstoff, der Ballen  $30 \times 6$  Fuß und 2 Catty schwer, zu 800 Käsch;

feines Baumwollgarn, die Unze 18 Käsch;

grobes Baumwollgarn, die Unze 15 Käsch.

### 95. Kreis Po-hsiang-hsien (柏鄉縣).

Der Boden ist zum großen Teil sandig und steinig, so daß die Bauern keine guten Erträge erzielen. Die Industrie beschränkt sich auf die Herstellung der in den Familien gebrauchten gewöhnlichen Haushaltungsgegenstände.

#### A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

Baumwolle, das Catty zu 200 Käsch und mehr } werden im Kreise  
Erdnüsse, das Catty einmal 10 Käsch } verbraucht.

#### B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Erdnußöl, nur wenig;

Speiseöl, für den eignen Bedarf;

Baumwollgarn, zur Weberei;

weißer Baumwollstoff } nur wenig.

Baumwollgurtel }

### 96. Kreis Lung-p'ing-hsien (隆平縣).

Erzeugnisse des Kreises sind verschiedene Arten von Getreide und Feldfrüchten, die an Ort und Stelle verzehrt werden. Industrien gibt es nicht.

## A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

Opium;  
weißer Weizen, kostet zur Zeit 400 Käsch.

## B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Baumwollstoff, der Fuß 700—800 Käsch, wird von Händlern gekauft und werden jährlich über 300 000 Ballen nach Schansi, Ninghsia und der Mongolei gebracht;

Salpeter, das Catty 40 Käsch; jährlich werden etwa 8—9 000 Catty nach außerhalb verkauft.

## 97. Kreis Kao-yi-hsien (高邑縣).

Das Gebiet des Kreises ist engbegrenzt und weder Ackerbau noch Gewerbe stehen in Blüte. Verhältnismäßig guten Nutzen bringt nur der Indigo, der zu Färbereizwecken nach außerhalb verschickt wird.

## Bodenerzeugnisse.

Indigo, das Catty zu 200 Käsch und mehr; jährlich werden 10 bis 15 000 Catty nach außerhalb abgesetzt;

Baumwolle, das Catty zu 70—80 Käsch; jährlich werden über 20 000 Catty teils nach außerhalb verkauft, teils hier verbraucht;

Erdnüsse, das Catty zu 20 Käsch und mehr; Jahresertrag über 20 000 Catty.

## 98. Kreis Lin-ch'êng-hsien (臨城縣).

Der Kreis liegt am Gebirge; der Boden ist unfruchtbare und das Volk arm, so daß es nur sehr wenig Produkte gibt.

## A. Bodenerzeugnisse.

Kohle, das Catty zu 1 Käsch; Ertrag bei reger Nachfrage über 12 000 Catty, sonst etwa 10 000 Catty;

Baumwolle, das Catty zu 70—80 Käsch;

Opium.

## B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Grober Baumwollstoff, wird im Kreise und nach den Gebirgsgegenden im Nordwesten verkauft;

Holzkohle, das Catty 20 Käsch und mehr;

Kalk, das Catty 1 Käsch, aus zwei Brennereien;

irdene Krüge.

## 99. Kreis Ning-chin-hsien (寧晉縣).

(Liste unausgefüllt)

Die Bauern ernten nur die fünf Kornarten und verschiedene Sorten von Feldfrüchten; feinere Industrieerzeugnisse werden nicht hergestellt.

### 100. Departement Shén-chou (深州).

Der Boden ist zum großen Teil sandig und salzhaltig und nicht für den Anbau geeignet. Haupterzeugnis ist Seide.

#### A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

Pfirsiche, in den beiden Sorten weiß und rot, die meisten von besserm Geschmack, das Stück 40 bis über 100 Käsch. Jährlicher Ertrag schwankend. Werden in die Nachbarschaft und nach Peking, Tientsin und Paotingsu verkauft. In guten Jahren beträgt die Ernte in den Strecken westlich der Stadt 30—40000 Stück.

#### B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Seide, die Unze 600—900 Käsch und mehr. Vor dem Jahre 1900 wurden jährlich 30—40000 Unzen nach außerhalb verkauft, jetzt sind es nur noch 6—7000 Unzen. Früher war der Jahresertrag in den Strecken westlich der Stadt 40—50000 Unzen, in diesem Jahre aber nur über 10000 Unzen.

### 101. Kreis Wu-chiang-hsien (武強縣).

(Liste unsausgefüllt.)

Die Ernten bringen nur die fünf Kornarten und verschiedene Sorten von Feldfrüchten. Bemerkenswerte Erwerbszweige der Industrie gibt es nicht.

### 102. Kreis Jao-yang-hsien (饒陽縣).

Obwohl das Gebiet steinig und unfruchtbare und der Geist des Volkes noch sehr einfach ist, treiben die Männer doch einen lebhaften Handel, und die Weiber bemühen sich, Webarbeiten herzustellen.

#### Erzeugnisse.

Beutel, 1. Qualität, das Stück 16 Unzen schwer, 1 Fuß lang, 5 Zoll breit, 0,30 Taels; 2. Qualität, das Stück 9 Unzen schwer, 3,6 Fuß lang, 1,4 Fuß breit, 0,25 Taels.

Von der ersten Sorte gehen etwa 90000, von der zweiten etwa 40000 nach den Provinzen Mukden und Kirin.

Bandrollen, 1. Qualität, die Rolle etwa 50 Fuß lang, zu 0,04 Taels und mehr; etwa 70000 Stück gehen nach Mukden und Kirin; 2. Qualität, die Rolle 37—38 Fuß lang, zu 0,025 Taels und mehr; etwa 40000 Stück gehen nach Mukden und Kirin.

### 103. Kreis An-ping-hsien (安平縣).

Das Gebiet des Kreises ist im Grunde unkultiviert und hat sehr viel salzhaltigen Sandboden, der sich nicht zum Anbau eignet. Fruchtbäume gibt es dagegen in großer Zahl, so daß sie bisweilen Gehölze bilden.

Bodenerzeugnisse gibt es mithin nur wenige.

### Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Korbsiebe, werden aus Roßhaaren hergestellt und als Seiher benutzt, das Stück 70—80 Käsch. Jahresproduktion 700000 bis über 1000000;

Roßschweife, sind kein Erzeugnis des Kreises, sondern kommen von Mukden, K'uan-ch'êng-tzé und aus der Mongolei. Die besten, 4—5 Fuß langen, kosten 5—6000 Käsch pro Catty und gehen nach Schanghai; die 2—3 Fuß langen werden das Catty zu 2—3000 Käsch verkauft und gehen ins Ausland oder nach Schanghai, um zu Sieben oder Schnüren verarbeitet zu werden; die etwa 1 Fuß langen kosten das Catty 5—600 Käsch und werden zur Hälfte zu Sieben verarbeitet, zur Hälfte ins Ausland verkauft; die ganz kurzen, noch nicht 1 Fuß langen, kosten das Catty um 1000 Käsch herum und werden entweder ins Ausland verkauft oder zu Bürsten verarbeitet.

Wenn die Haare aus Lamamiao und andern Orten eintreffen, sind sie in wirrer Unordnung wie Rohseide und müssen erst durch Menschenarbeit sortiert werden. Durch dieses Sortieren finden viele Männer und Frauen der Bevölkerung ihren Unterhalt, die darauf ihr ganzes Tagewerk verwenden. Geschickte Arbeiter verdienen 4—500 Peking-Käsch täglich, die übrigen 2—300 Peking-Käsch.

### 104. Kreis Hsing-t'ai-hsien (邢臺縣).

Der Boden ist für den Landbau geeignet, daher sind die meisten Einwohner Bauern. In der Ebene werden vornehmlich Reis, Weizen, Mohn und Tabak gebaut, am Gebirge Jujuben, Birnen, Kastanien und Aprikosen. Hergestellt werden allenthalben die vom Volke gebrauchten Gegenstände.

#### A. Bodenerzeugnisse.

Tabakblätter, das Catty 70—80 Käsch, werden im Kreise verbraucht; Jahresertrag über 300000 Catty;

Eingemachte Jujuben, das Catty 80—90 Käsch, gehen nach Tientsin und Honan; Jahresertrag 40—50000 Catty;

Eichelkelche (zu Färbereizwecken), das Catty 8—9 Käsch, gehen nach Tientsin; Jahresertrag 50—60000 Catty.

#### B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Ziegenfelle, werden jährlich für 500—600000 Taels verkauft und gehen bis Honan und Kiangsu, kommen als rohe Felle aus Schansi und werden in mehr als 40 Häusern bearbeitet;

Fertiger Rauchtabak, das Catty 200 Käsch und mehr; jährlich werden etwa 310000 Catty in die Nachbarschaft und nach Schantung abgesetzt;

Seidenstoff, der Ballen zu 6 Tiao und mehr; jährlich etwa 3—400 Ballen aus zwei Webereien, werden im Kreise verbraucht.

### 105. Kreis Sha-ho-hsien (沙河縣).

Im Nordwesten des Kreises liegt eine Strecke Sandboden und im Nordosten zwei Gemeindebezirke mit Überschwemmungsgebiet. Das Land

ist unfruchtbar und das Volk arm; es versteht sich nur auf Ackerbau und Weberei.

#### A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

Baumwolle	}
Indigo	
Opium	
Tabak	

nur wenig.

#### B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Baumwollbänder, von den Frauen hergestellt;  
 Baumwollstoff, nur wenig;  
 Kalk;  
 Kohlen, werden in die Nachbarschaft verkauft, doch ist der Ertrag  
 nur gering;  
 Kalkstein;  
 Mühlsteine.

### 106. Kreis Nan-ho-hsien (南和縣).

Der Boden des Kreises ist unfruchtbar und die Bevölkerung arm, daher gibt es nur wenige Produkte.

#### A. Bodenerzeugnisse.

Weidenruten, das Bund zu 200 Stück wird für 2—300 Käsch verkauft; Jahresertrag 3—4000 Käsch.

#### B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Weißer und blunter Baumwollstoff, der Ballen zu 30—40 Fuß etwa 1 Tiao; jährlich werden 20—30000 Ballen nach Schansi verkauft;

Papier, der Packen zu 200 Blatt 3—400 Käsch. Jahresproduktion über 10000 Pack. Im Dorfe Fan-chia-chuang (范家莊) gibt es 27 Familien, die Papier fabrizieren.

### 107. Kreis P'ing-hsiang-hsien (平鄉縣).

Der Boden ist fest und salzhaltig und nicht zur Bebauung geeignet.

#### A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

Indigo, das Catty 40—50 Käsch, wird nach Hsin-ho-hsien, Ning-chin-hsien und Lung-p'ing-hsien verkauft. Der Mou bringt etwa 30 bis 50 Catty, die bebauten 3—400 Mou zusammen etwa 10000 Catty.

#### B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Grober Baumwollstoff, der Ballen  $20 \times 1,20$  Fuß zu 4—500 Käsch, geht nach Schansi. Kalgan und der Mongolei. Jahresproduktion etwa 10000 Ballen;

Salz, das Catty 10—20 Käsch, wird im Kreise verbraucht.

### 108. Kreis Kuang-tsung-hsien (廣宗縣).

Das Gebiet des Kreises ist abgelegen, so daß keine Kaufleute hierherkommen, um Handel zu treiben; auch werden keine einheimischen Produkte hergestellt. Der Boden ist zum großen Teil sandig und salzhaltig und bringt den Bauern nur geringen Ertrag.

#### A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

- Birnen;
- Aprikosen;
- Jujuben.

#### B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Fußwickel aus Baumwolle, das Stück zu 10 Käsch und mehr. Eine Sorte wird bis zu 30 Fuß lang hergestellt. Gehen nach Lu-ku-fu und andern Orten in Schansi.

### 109. Kreis Chü-lu-hsien (鉅鹿縣).

Der Boden ist steinig und unfruchtbar, so daß außer den fünf Kornarten und Obstbäumen nichts gebaut wird. Sonstige Landesprodukte gibt es nicht.

#### A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

- Die fünf Kornarten;
- Obstbäume.

#### B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Grober Baumwollstoff, wird viel nach Huo-lu-hsien, Hsing-t'ang-hsien und Lu-an-fu in Schansi verkauft.

### 110. Kreis T'ang-shan-hsien (唐山縣).

Das einzige Industrieerzeugnis des Kreises ist grober Baumwollstoff.

#### A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

- Die fünf Kornarten;
- Obstbäume.

#### B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Grober Baumwollstoff.

### 111. Kreis Nei-chiu-hsien (內邱縣).

Der Boden ist hochgelegen und trocken, so daß bei geringen Niederschlägen der Ertrag gering ist; bei günstiger Witterung gibt es dagegen leidliche Erträge.

#### A. Natürliche Erzeugnisse.

- Baumwolle;

Schaffelle, das Stück 1,50—1,60 Taels, werden nach Tientsin an freunde Händler verkauft, die sie ins Ausland schicken. Jahresertrag etwa 3 000 Stück;

Schafwolle, 400—500 Ballen gehen an frende Kaufleute nach Tientsin. Obwohl der Ertrag groß ist, deckt er doch nicht die Nachfrage; die Hälfte kommt aus Luan-ch'êng-hsien und Chao-chou;

Rindshäute und Rinderknochen;

Knochenheilsteine (**接骨石** *chieh-ku-shih*), von Farbe rot und rötlich wie Schwefel und so groß wie gelbe Bohnen. Die Einwohner behaupten, der Stein könne Knochenbrüche heilen; er wird auch Knochenheilpille (**接骨丹** *chieh-ku-tan*) genannt und zur Bereitung von Medikamenten verwandt. Es ist bedauerlich, daß die Leute so wenig unterrichtet sind.

Jadepolierstein (**解玉石** *chieh-yü-shih*), auch Jadepoliersand (**解玉沙** *chieh-yü-sha*) genannt, kann zum Polieren von Jadesachen benutzt werden;

Affenköpfe (**猴頭** *hou-t'ou*) kommen auf Bäumen vor, haben einen außerordentlich köstlichen Geschmack und gehören neben Bärenatzen und Kamelhöckern zu den acht Delikatessen (**八珍** *pa-chén*) der kaiserlichen Tafel. Man erzählt, daß die Händler Einheimische mit der Erlangung derselben beauftragen, und die Eingesessenen sagen, daß jeder Baum in einer Reihe von Jahren zwei davon erzeugt. Da in den westlichen Bergen nicht unter einmal 10 000 Bäume stehen, müßte es einige hundert davon geben, zumal es nicht schwer ist, in die zum Kreise gehörigen Gebirgslandschaften hineinzugelangen<sup>1</sup>;

Kohlen, werden von den Bewohnern der westlichen Berge nach alter Methode gegraben.

#### B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Holzkohle, das Catty zu 10 Käsch und mehr, geht nach Peking, Tientsin und Paotingsfu. Jahresertrag — meist aus den westlichen Bergen — einmal 10 000 Catty;

Branntwein, eine Brennerei erzeugt 10 000 Catty;

<sup>1</sup> [Früchte dieses Namens sind sonst nicht bekannt. Die ganze Notiz klingt sehr abenteuerlich. Sollte es sich vielleicht um -Affenpfirsiche- (**獼猴桃** *mi-hou-t'ao*) handeln, eine pfirsichähnliche Frucht, die nach Williams in Anhui viel vorkommen soll? Die 8 Delikatessen der kaiserlichen Tafel scheinen zuerst im Chou-li (周禮天官膳夫) Biot, Vol. I S. 71 erwähnt zu sein, werden aber nicht einzeln aufgeführt. In der Aufzählung, die ein Kommentator gibt, finden sich Affenköpfe nicht. Lu-tien 陸仙, 11. Jahrhundert, nennt als 8 Delikatessen: Rind, Hammel, Elch, Hirsch, Reh, Schwein, Hund, Wolf. Nach Williams würden in Peking darunter verschiedene Arten Wildbret verstanden: Reh, Wildschwein, Fasan, Gazelle, Bärenatzen usw. Giles gibt eine andre Liste, darunter Bärenatzen, Kamelhöcker und Affenlippen. Der Begriff der 8 Delikatessen scheint danach ein sehr schwankender zu sein. Aus dem Pén-ts'a-o-kang-mu Kap. 51 b ersehen wir, daß in Südchina Affenköpfe als Delikatesse gegessen werden. Die Kan-tonesen sollen sie in Suppe essen, in einer andern Gegend werden die erlegten Affen gepökelt und geräuchert. Dem Affenfleisch werden auch medizinale Eigenschaften zugeschrieben. — Aum. der Red.]

gelber Branntwein, das Catty zu 120—130 Käsch, wird im Kreise und in der Nachbarschaft abgesetzt;

Filzdecken, in verschiedenen Preislagen, werden ins Innere verkauft;

Baumwollgarn (zum Einschlag wird einheimisches, zur Kette ausländisches Garn benutzt);

Baumwollstoff, etwa 2 000 000 Ballen gehen nach Schansi. In vier Dörfern gibt es viele Webereien;

Seidenstoff, wird aus den Kokons des wilden Seidenspinners in den westlichen Bergen gewonnen und nicht nach außerhalb verkauft;

Hanföl;

Honig, wird in die Nachbarschaft verkauft;

Ziegelsteine, desgl. Vier Dörfer haben Ziegelöfen.

### 112. Kreis Jén-hsien (任縣).

Die Einwohner sind zum größten Teil Bauern. Industriezweige gibt es nicht.

#### A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

Die fünf Kornarten;

Gemüse.

#### B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Baumwollstoff, durch Frauenarbeit hergestellt; über 100 000 Ballen werden jährlich von Händlern aufgekauft und nach Schansi gebracht.

### 113. Kreis Ta-ming-hsien (大名縣).

Außer verschiedenen Getreidearten sind Erdnüsse und Sesam die Haupterzeugnisse des Kreises. Die Industrie beschränkt sich auf die Herstellung von groben Baumwollstoffen, Erdnußöl und Sesamöl, doch ist die Produktion nur gering. Durch Menschenarbeit hergestellte Handelsartikel gibt es nicht.

#### A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

Erdnüsse, 100 Catty zu 2 400 Käsch

Sesam, das Picul zu 7 Tiao und 500 Peking-Käsch } reiche Erträge.

#### B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Erdnußöl, das Catty zu 80 Käsch

Sesamöl, das Catty zu 120 Käsch } nur wenig.

grober Baumwollstoff, der Fuß zu 25 Käsch

### 114. Kreis Yüan-ch'eng-hsien (元城縣).

Ein großer Teil des Bodens ist sandig und salzhaltig, so daß es außer mäßigen Ernteerträgen keine andern Produkte gibt. Durch Menschenarbeit werden nur wenige Dinge hergestellt, Industrierzeugnisse werden nicht nach außerhalb verkauft.

#### A. Landwirtschaftliche Produkte.

Erdnüsse, 100 Catty zu 400 Peking-Käsch

Baumwolle, 100 Catty zu 2 400 Peking-Käsch } nur wenig.

Sesam, das Picul zu 7 500 Peking-Käsch

## B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Erdnußöl, das Catty zu 80 Peking-Käsch  
 Sesamöl, das Catty zu 120 Käsch } nur wenig.  
 grober Baumwollstoff, der Fuß zu 25 Käsch }

115. Kreis Nan-lo-hsien (南樂縣).  
 (Liste unausgefüllt.)

Außer den fünf Kornarten gibt es keine Bodenprodukte. Fabriziert werden nur Strohhüte und Strohborten.

## 116. Kreis Ch'ing-féng-hsien (清豐縣).

Außer den fünf Kornarten wird im Kreise noch Mohn gebaut. Die Industrie beschränkt sich auf die Herstellung von Strohhüten, Strohborten und Baumwollstoffen.

## A. Landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse.

Die fünf Kornarten } nur wenig, werden an Ort und Stelle  
 Opium } verbraucht.

## B. Gewerbliche Erzeugnisse.

Strohhüte und Strohborten, werden jährlich im Werte von 4 000 bis 5 000 Taels verkauft und in 30—50 Dörfern in der Gegend von Hsin-chuang (幸莊) hergestellt;

Baumwollstoff, der Ballen zu 9 000 Peking-Käsch, geht nach Honan, Schantung und Schansi. In mehr als 10 Familien gibt es über 300 Webstühle, die jährlich 4—5 000 Ballen produzieren.

## 117. Departement K'ai-chou (開州).

(Liste unausgefüllt.)

Der Boden bringt nur die fünf Kornarten, verschiedene Getreidesorten, Mohn und Baumwolle hervor. Hergestellt werden nur die alltäglichen Gebrauchsgegenstände, und besondere Kunstfertigkeiten existieren nicht.

## 118. Kreis Ch'ang-yüan-hsien (長垣縣).

(Liste unausgefüllt.)

Bodenerzeugnisse sind nur die fünf Kornarten, verschiedene Getreidesorten, Mohn und Baumwolle, Gemüse, Obst und Hanf. Hergestellt werden nur die almodischen Gebrauchsgegenstände des täglichen Lebens.

## 119. Kreis Tung-ming-hsien (東明縣).

Der Kreis erzeugt nur die fünf Kornarten, verschiedene Getreidesorten, Mohn und Obstbäume. Außer groben Holzarbeiten gibt es keine Handfertigkeiten.

(Die noch nicht eingelaufenen Berichte werden später hier abgedruckt werden.)

# Ein Wegweiser für moderne Frauen und Mädchen.

Von FUKUZAWA YŪKICHI.

Übersetzt von T. TSUJI.

## Vorbemerkung.

Der Gedanke, das seit dem Jahre 1603 bestehende, fest organisierte Regierungssystem der Tokugawa zu stürzen und die kaiserliche Gewalt wiederherzustellen, hat viele Männer der höheren Stände Japans lange Jahre hindurch vor 1868, in welchem Jahre mit dem Regierungsantritt des herrschenden Kaisers jenes Ziel erreicht wurde, auf das lebhafteste beschäftigt. Diese politisch so erregte Zeit weist auch eine Anzahl von Männern auf, die weit über die Gegenwart hinausblickten und ihre Lebensaufgabe darin fanden, die jüngere Generation auf kulturelle Forderungen vorzubereiten, welche sich bald verwirklichen sollten.

Das besondere Verdienst dieser Vorkämpfer des modernen Erziehungswesens besteht darin, daß sie durch Gründung von höheren Lehranstalten selbständig vorgingen, bevor das öffentliche Schulwesen in seinem ganzen Umfange entwickelt war. Der bei weitem hervorragendste unter diesen bahnbrechenden Schülern ist Fukuzawa Yūkichi (1835—1901), der Sohn eines Lehnsmannes des Fürsten Okudaira in Nakatsu in der Provinz Buzen; er ist ohne Zweifel zugleich der erfolgreichste, da er auf die weitesten Kreise einen überwältigenden Einfluß ausübte. Die kaiserliche Anerkennung, welche ihm durch Schenkung einer Summe von 50000 Yen im Jahre 1900 zuteil wurde, ebenso der herzliche Nachruf des Abgeordnetenhauses bei seinem, am 3. Februar 1901 erfolgten Tode, weisen auf die große Bedeutung seiner Verdienste um die Förderung des modernen Erziehungswesens hin. Seine außerordentlichen Erfolge hat er zum Teil seinem früh begonnenen, langjährigen Wirken, zum Teil seinem innersten Wesen zu verdanken. Ihn zeichneten Willensfestigkeit, Entschlossenheit, großer Eifer und glänzende Auffassungsgabe aus; ganz besonders eigen war ihm aber das Streben nach völliger Unabhängigkeit. Um so empfindlicher fühlte er als Sohn eines dürftigenfürstlichen Lehnsmannes niederen Standes seine Abhängigkeit und sein Gebundensein. Wer das Kastenwesen in der Feudalzeit kennt, der findet es begreiflich, daß Unabhängigkeit das höchste Ideal war, nach dem er strebte. Die erste Gelegenheit, dies zu erreichen, wurde ihm durch seinen älteren Bruder geboten, als dieser, der mit seinem scharfen Blick für die bevorstehende soziale Umwälzung die Notwendigkeit

der Kenntnis abendländischer Verhältnisse erkannt hatte, ihm das Studium des Holländischen empfahl. In der verhältnismäßig kurzen Zeit, während der er in Nagasaki von 1854—1855 und in Ōsaka von 1855—1858 bei dem bedeutendsten Kenner des Holländischen, Ogata Kōan, mit einem wahren Rieseneifer studierte, erzielte er einen für die damalige Zeit sehr großen Erfolg.

Den ersten Grundstein zu selbständiger Arbeit legte er, als er in seinem fünfundzwanzigsten Lebensjahr von seinem Lehnsherrn als Lehrer des Holländischen nach Tōkyō berufen wurde, wo er eine bescheidene Schule gründete. Auf diesem Grunde bauend, faßte er den festen Entschluß, sich der Aufklärung des Volkes, der Erziehung der Jugend, der Modernisierung der sozialen Verhältnisse und der Einführung der modernen Wissenschaften zu widmen. Für seine späteren Erfolge war dieser Entschluß, von dem ihn bis zu seinem Tode nichts abzubringen vermochte, entscheidend. Nach etwaigen äußereren Auszeichnungen strebte er nicht mehr. Es handelte sich für ihn nur darum, wie er als Privatmann seine Kenntnisse in den modernen Wissenschaften, die er später mit Hilfe des selbsterlernten Englischen bereichert hatte, sowie die Erfahrungen, die er auf seinen dreimaligen Reisen<sup>1</sup> nach Europa und Amerika gesammelt hatte, im Interesse seiner Landsleute zu verwerten. Den nächsten Weg hierzu fand er naturgemäß neben der Lehrtätigkeit an seiner Schule, die unter dem Namen Keiō-gijuku, d. h. der Privatschule aus der Periode Keiō 1865—1867<sup>2</sup> immer mehr emporblühte, in schriftstellerischer Tätigkeit. Als Schriftsteller hatte er stets in erster Linie im Auge, die Bedeutung der modernen Kultur in ihrem ganzen Umfange möglichst weiten Kreisen zugänglich zu machen, und seine Schriften über die verschiedensten Wissensstoffe fanden vermöge ihres leichten Stils und ihrer überzeugenden Darstellung großen Anklang.

Die umfangreichen schriftstellerischen Arbeiten, die er in Buchform oder in der 1882 von ihm gegründeten Zeitung Jiji, d. h. Zeitsachen oder Zeitfragen, einer der bedeutendsten Zeitungen Japans, veröffentlichte, zerfallen im ganzen in zwei Klassen, nämlich populäre Einführungen in allerlei Fach- und Wissenszweige und Aufsätze über seine sozialen und moralischen Ansichten. Von der ersten Art verdient die »Einführung in die abendländischen Verhältnisse«<sup>3</sup> besondere Beachtung. Sie hat einen Überblick über die Geographie, Geschichte, staatliche und private Einrichtungen, Sitten und Gebräuche der abendländischen Staaten zum Inhalt. Was dieses

<sup>1</sup> Er reiste 1860 im Gefolge einer Gesandtschaft der Tokugawaregierung nach Amerika, wo er sich mehrere Monate aufhielt. Im Winter 1861 trat er wieder als Mitglied einer Gesandtschaft eine Reise nach Frankreich, England, Holland, Deutschland, Rußland und Portugal an und kam im Dezember 1862 nach Japan zurück. 1867 reiste er nach Amerika, wo er mehrere Monate weilte.

<sup>2</sup> Die Schule bestand seit dem Winter 1858, aber ihren obigen Namen erhielt sie erst 1868, und zwar vor dem Periodenwechsel.

<sup>3</sup> Seiyō jijo, -(Einführung in) die europäischen Verhältnisse.; das Werk erschien von 1866—1869 in einigen Folgen. Der Verfasser selbst schätzt in dem Geleitwort seiner Gesammelten Werke den Absatz dieses Buches auf 250 000 Exemplare.

Buch als das einzige vorhandene der Art in einer Zeit, wo die Europäisierung des sozialen Lebens bevorstand, für eine Bedeutung gehabt hat, geht aus seinem erstaunlichen Absatz hervor. Aber sein Hauptverdienst liegt in kritischen Betrachtungen über die herrschenden sozialen und moralischen Ansichten.

Hier galt es für ihn, einerseits auf die Einführung freierer Gedanken, anderseits auf eine Milderung der altherkömmlichen, der modernen Kultur nicht entsprechenden Anschauungen hinzuwirken. Wie er alle die Züge, in denen er die Mängel der Japaner sah, wie das Abhängigkeitsgefühl, die übertriebene Hochschätzung der Kriegertugenden, entschieden ablehnte, so suchte er im Staatsbürger wie in jedem einzelnen das Selbstgefühl zu wecken. Selbständigkeit und edle Gesinnung war in sämtlichen Werken Fukuzawas die Lösung. Als das bekannteste Werk dieser Art ist die Schrift »Zur Förderung der Bildung<sup>1</sup> zu nennen, in der er die wichtigsten Aufgaben des persönlichen wie des sozialen Lebens von seinem Standpunkte aus behandelte. Seine fortschrittlichen, liberalen Gedanken erregten nicht selten Aufsehen. So wird es unvergänglich bleiben, daß er das gesamte Japan gegen sich in die Schranken fordern mußte, als er in einem dieser Aufsätze die herkömmliche Auffassung der Vaterlandsliebe in Frage stellte.

Aus dem Obigen erhellt auch sein lebhaftes Interesse an der japanischen Frauenfrage. Mit Recht führt er die Hauptschwäche der japanischen Frau, die er in dem Fehlen des Selbstbewußtseins findet, auf die einseitige und übertriebene Pflege der moralischen Erziehung im konfuzianischen Sinne und unter gänzlicher Vernachlässigung der Körperpflege wie der wissenschaftlichen Bildung zurück. Diese Mängel unterzog er zunächst in seinem Aufsatze über »Die japanische Frau<sup>2</sup>« einer scharfen Kritik und bezeichnete im wesentlichen körperliche und geistige Kräftigung des weiblichen Geschlechts als die wichtigsten Mittel, die notwendig seien, um dasselbe in jeder Hinsicht auf eine Höhe zu bringen, wie sie die Zeit erfordere. Er will darin die weibliche Individualität körperlich, geistig und wirtschaftlich heben und in derselben Weise wie die männliche zu einem selbständigen Bestandteile des gesamten Volkes machen. Dies dürfte kein Wunsch bleiben, dessen Erfüllung nicht zu erhoffen wäre. Die Geschichte zeigt, wie sich manche japanische Frauen eine unabhängige Stellung bewahrt haben. Der Förderung der Selbständigkeit der Frauen stand und steht aber in Japan als Haupthindernis der Konfuzianismus im Wege, der in der Ära der Tokugawa das Band bildete, das die damalige Gesellschaft zusammenhielt; es war die unbedingte Pietät, die von den höheren Ständen, teilweise auch den niederen, als die vornehmste Tugend angesehen wurde. Wie der Manu dem Lehns Herrn unbedingte Loyalität erweisen sollte, so sollte die Frau dem Manne gehorsam sein; wie der Schüler dem Meister, so sollten die Kinder den Eltern Pietät erweisen. Dieses Grundprinzip ist noch jetzt bei allen Ge-

<sup>1</sup> gakumon no susume, das aus 17 Aufsätzen bestehende Werk, erschien von 1872—1876. Der Absatz dieses Buches wird auf 3400000 Exemplare geschätzt.

<sup>2</sup> Nihon fujinron erschien 1885 zuerst in der Zeitung Jiji.

legenheiten erkennbar, besonders in äußereren Formen. Die Stellung der Frau dem Manne gegenüber darf aber nicht nur nach der Form beurteilt werden, in der sie die Pietät oft in übertriebener Weise zum Ausdruck zu bringen sucht, sondern auch nach dem seelischen Einfluß, den sie je nach ihrer Persönlichkeit unbestritten auf den Mann ausübt. Die soziale Stellung der Frau kam früher nur selten in Betracht. Als Ideal galt die Frau, die ihren Gatten von häuslicher Sorge gänzlich befreite, damit dieser sich völlig frei nach außen betätigen könne. Dies hing damit zusammen, daß der Hauptzweck der Eheschließung die Erhaltung der Familie des Mannes war, die wiederum mit dem herkömmlichen Ahnenkult und der erblichen Besoldung in der Feudalzeit in Zusammenhang stand.

Mit der Modernisierung des Staatswesens und der Einführung der abendländischen Kultur vollzog sich auch in der Auffassung der Bedeutung der Familie bzw. des Ehelebens eine Wandlung. Wenn der einzelne auf sich selbst angewiesen ist, müssen auch die Mädchen dementsprechend ausgebildet werden. Nach langem Kampf ist die Notwendigkeit der Ausbildung der weiblichen Jugend jetzt zu allgemeiner Anerkennung gelangt. Besonders in den letzten Jahrzehnten ist das Interesse des Publikums für Gewährung der allgemeinen Bildung, der normalen und höheren, ebenso rege wie die Sorge um die wissenschaftliche und praktische Berufsausbildung der Mädchen. Zweifellos ist jetzt für die Mädchenerziehung mehr getan, als Fukuzawa je hoffen konnte; sie geht einer hoffnungsvollen Zukunft entgegen. Frage bleibt immer das Ziel der Mädchenerziehung. Es handelt sich in Japan vorläufig wesentlich darum, die Mädchen zur »gescheiten Frau und braven Mutter« auszubilden und, je mehr sich die Lebensansprüche steigern und das Eheleben wirtschaftlich bedingen, desto dringender muß sich das Bedürfnis nach einer größeren Entfaltung der weiblichen Individualität geltend machen.

Vorliegendes Büchlein ist eine Übersetzung des »Neuen Onnadaigaku<sup>1</sup>« von Fukuzawa, das 1899 mit der Kritik des Onnadaigaku<sup>2</sup> erschienen ist. Letzteres Werkchen ist in deutscher Übersetzung von Herrn Prof. Dr. R. Lange 1898 in dieser Zeitschrift veröffentlicht worden. Wie gewaltig ist der Kontrast zwischen beiden Schriften, von denen die eine bis vor vierzig Jahren als Norm der Frauenmoral jedem Mädchen in die Hand gegeben wurde, die vorliegende aber so große Verbreitung fand, daß sie bis 1907 28 Auflagen erlebt hat. Das Hauptinteresse dürfte in einem Vergleich zwischen dem Inhalt beider Werke bestehen, die als Kulturdenkmäler zweier verschiedenen Zeiten sehr wichtig sind, denn der Text darf auf wissenschaftliche Bedeutung nicht den geringsten Anspruch erheben. Ebensowenig darf man aus dem Buche auf die Stellung der japanischen Frau in der Gegenwart schließen. In einem Geleitwort des Herausgebers ist betont, daß die ein-

<sup>1</sup> Shin-onnadaigaku, »das Neue Onnadaigaku«.

<sup>2</sup> Die Kritik des Onnadaigaku, bestehend aus zwanzig Abschnitten, und das Neue Onnadaigaku wurden in drei Wochen, von Ende August bis Mitte September 1899, verfaßt.

zernen Betrachtungen Ergebnisse eines langjährigen Studiums des Verfassers seien. Es ist aber nicht zu bestreiten, daß die darin entwickelten Gedanken auf den heutigen Leser den Eindruck der Naivität und die Ausführungen den der Flüchtigkeit machen. Dies läßt sich freilich aus dem Umstand begreifen, daß der Verfasser seine gewonnenen Ansichten kurz vor seinem Tode in großer Eile zusammenstellte, um sie in mehr anregender Form weiteren Kreisen zugänglich zu machen. Dabei sei jedoch bemerkt, daß dieselbe von einem nationalen Zweck geleitet wurde; er wollte durch diese Veröffentlichung das Publikum noch einmal auf die Notwendigkeit der Verbesserung der Stellung der Frauen hinweisen, weil im Jahre 1898 das neue bürgerliche Gesetzbuch, das durch und durch in seinem Sinne verfaßt ist, in Kraft trat. Er selbst empfand diese Notwendigkeit um so mehr, als infolge der Durchführung der revidierten Handelsverträge im Jahre 1899 das Zusammenleben der eingewanderten Ausländer mit den Inländern bevorstand, während jenen bis dahin ein besonderes Viertel in den wenigen Vertragshäfen angewiesen war.

Die Schwierigkeit der Übersetzung bestand vor allen Dingen in der Ungenauigkeit der Begriffe und der häufigen Unklarheit der Gedankenfolge. Der Übersetzer erachtete eine wortgetreue Übersetzung nicht als notwendig; denn es kommt hier weniger auf den Ausdruck als auf den Sinn an, zumal die Ausführung, wie aus dem Obigen hervorgeht, nicht besonders gelungen ist. Bei einem Vergleich mit dem Text wird man manche Stellen, die nur zur äußeren Ausschmückung dienen, nicht übersetzt oder zusammengezogen finden; sonst war der Übersetzer bestrebt, sich möglichst treu an den Text zu halten. Um über die einzelnen Abschnitte eine gewisse Übersicht zu geben, sind dieselben mit Überschriften versehen worden, die im Texte fehlen.

Zugegeben, daß Fukuzawa nicht eigentlich ein Mann der Wissenschaft im heutigen Sinne war und seine Schriften das Publikum der Gegenwart kaum mehr zu befriedigen vermögen, so wird doch niemand leugnen, daß seine Persönlichkeit ein leuchtendes Vorbild war. Sein Bild wird in der Geschichte des japanischen Erziehungswesens in unauslöschlichen Zügen fortleben als das Bild des Mannes, der der Aufklärung des modernen Japan seegensreiche Dienste geleistet hat. Sterbend sah er seine Schule als die älteste Privathochschule in ihrer höchsten Blüte stehen, seine zahlreichen Schüler, treu der Lehre des Meisters, auf den verschiedensten Gebieten selbständige Wege gehen. Seine gesammelten Werke<sup>1</sup> ließ er 1897 mit einem eigenen Geleitwort erscheinen, in dem er einen Rückblick auf seine Vergangenheit wirft. Fukuzawa hat von seiner frühen Jugend bis zum Tode rastlos für seine Überzeugungen gekämpft; der Kampf war nicht verloren, vielmehr war es einer der erfolgreichsten Kämpfe, die je ein japanischer Schulmann gekämpft hat.

<sup>1</sup> Die gesammelten Werke, fünf Bände, wurden 1898 von der Redaktion der Zeitung *Jiji* herausgegeben.

**1. Notwendigkeit der Ernährung des Kindes durch Muttermilch.**

Die Mädchen werden mit ebendenselben Rechten geboren wie die Knaben und sind bestimmt, wie diese von den Eltern aufgezogen zu werden. Es sei darauf hingewiesen, daß die Aufgabe der Eltern, bis die Kinder aufgewachsen sind, keine leichte ist. Mütter, die viele Kinder geboren haben, oder solche, die kränklich sind, müssen wohl aus gesundheitlichen Rücksichten Ammen zum Nähren ihrer Kinder annehmen; aber, wenn es irgend möglich ist, nähre jede Mutter ihre Kinder selbst. Es ist darum eine dringende Notwendigkeit, daß sich die Mütter hierzu ihre Gesundheit erhalten. Es gibt nicht selten Mütter, die in der Meinung, daß Kuhmilch die geeignete Nahrung für Neugeborene und daß bei Bemittelten die Annahme einer Amme eine Leichtigkeit sei, dem Aufziehen der eigenen Kinder mit anderer Milch gleichgültig zusehen und ihnen absichtlich die vorhandene Muttermilch vorenthalten. Ihr Irrtum ist ein gewaltiger und ihr Handeln naturwidrig.

**2. Unterstützung der Frau durch ihren Mann bei der Erziehung der Kinder.**

Ganz abgesehen von der Zeit der Schwangerschaft und von der Entbindung liegen auf einer Frau und Mutter so viele Sorgen, von denen Unverheiratete keine Ahnung haben. Die Ernährung sowie die Bekleidung des Kindes erfordern die größte Sorgfalt, die ihm, soll es gut gedeihen, ununterbrochen bei Tag und Nacht, bei Hitze und Kälte zuteil werden muß. Es ist dies für die Mutter eine so große Anstrengung, daß ihr Körper geschwächt wird und abmagert. Der Ehemann muß daher als Vater diese Mühe mit der Frau teilen und, soweit es die Verhältnisse zulassen, auch wenn er auswärts beruflich beschäftigt ist, die irgendwie verfügbare Zeit dazu benutzen, derselben bei der Erziehung der Kinder beizustehen und ihr dadurch, wenn auch nur für kurze Zeit, Ruhe zu verschaffen. Es gibt oft Leute, die sich schämen, die Ehefrau zu beachten, oder gar solche, die sie zwar innerlich schätzen, nach außen sich aber so stellen, als ob sie sich um sie nicht kümmerten. Es ist dies ein törichtes Verhalten, ja eine Sünde, deren man sich schämen muß, wenn der Ehemann das Mühen seiner Ehefrau müßig mit ansieht, wie wenn sie ihm gar nichts angehe. Für seige Narren müßten derartige Ehemänner gelten, die sich solch einen Schein geben wollen.

**3. Körperliche Pflege der weiblichen Jugend.**

Wenn die Mädchen etwas größer geworden sind, stähle man wie bei den Knaben vor allen Dingen ihren Körper. Man gestatte ihnen auch derbere Spiele, soweit Verletzungen nicht zu befürchten sind. Es ist eine schlechte Sitte und ein großer Fehler, daß sich Mädchen eben darum, weil

sie Mädchen sind, nur um ihre Kleider bekümmern und Furcht hegen, diese zu zerreißen oder zu beschmutzen, weil sie schön sind. Es bringt dies einen Mangel an körperlicher Bewegung mit sich, was naturgemäß die körperliche Entwicklung beeinträchtigt. Kinder in einem Alter, in welchem sie noch viel freie Zeit zum Spielen haben, bekleide man mit einfachen Kleidern, die sie zerreißen oder beschmutzen dürfen, und man freue sich nur, daß sie sich frei bewegen können. Es versteht sich von selbst, daß mit großer Sorgfalt darauf geachtet werden muß, Kindern zweckmäßige Nahrung zu geben, doch irrt man sich, wenn man glaubt, sie durch gute Nahrung allein aufzuziehen zu können. Die Nahrung mag noch so gut sein, fehlt es an der entsprechenden Bewegung, so wirkt sie auf die Entwicklung der Kinder geradezu nachteilig ein. Unter den Kindern von kleinen Leuten auf dem Lande findet man vielfach gesunde Kinder, trotzdem diese mangelhafte Nahrung nach Belieben zu sich nehmen; deshalb sollten reiche Leute in Kyōto oder Ōsaka schwächliche Kinder Bauernfamilien in Yase oder Ohara<sup>1</sup> anvertrauen. Selbstverständlich hat man auf dem Lande nur geringe Nahrung; aber nach ländlicher Sitte speisen, sich viel bewegen und Spiele treiben, ist gesund und wirkt auf die körperliche Entwicklung der Kinder günstiger ein als gute Nahrung bei einem Leben in der Stadt. Wer darum gesunde Kinder aufziehen will, ermögliche seiner Familie, selbst wenn er den Reichtum von Millionen besitzt, eine Lebensweise wie die in Yase oder Ohara zu führen. Selbstverständlich dürfen hierbei hygienische Rücksichten nicht außer acht gelassen werden.

#### 4. Die wirtschaftliche Ausbildung.

Es ist keine leichte Aufgabe, daß man Mädchen, je nach ihrer Entwicklung, zunächst Schreiben, Nähen und nach ihren Fortschritten dann den Briefstil und die Gebrauchsweise der Rechenmaschine<sup>2</sup> in angemessenem Umfange beibringt, bis sie schließlich Kleidungsstücke für den täglichen Gebrauch selbst anfertigen und über Einnahme und Ausgabe im Haushalt Buch führen wie auch abrechnen können. Ferner müssen die Mädchen selbstverständlich mit der gesamten Küchenwirtschaft vertraut gemacht werden. Selbst diejenigen, welche in der Lage sind, über viele Dienstboten zu verfügen, seien nicht nur im Kochen von Reis<sup>3</sup>, sondern auch in der Zubereitung und Servierung von allerlei Gerichten wie auch in der Benutzung der Gewürze und anderer Zutaten gut orientiert. Auch für den Fall, wo man es nicht selbst zu übernehmen braucht, ist es wesentlich, daß man von Jugend an darin Erfahrung hat, denn der Haushalt kann nicht im Traum geführt werden.

<sup>1</sup> Yase und Ohara, zwei Dorfgemeinden, nordöstlich von der Stadt Kyōto gelegen.

<sup>2</sup> Die Rechenmaschine (soroban) wird im täglichen Familienleben gebraucht.

<sup>3</sup> Reis wird als Hauptnahrungsmittel wenigstens einmal gekocht.

### 5. Wissenschaftliche Ausbildung der Mädchen.

Die obenerwähnten Anforderungen stellen keine wissenschaftliche Bildung dar, die nennenswert ist; sie gelten für Mädchen aus allen Ständen ohne Ausnahme. In Beziehung auf wissenschaftliche Bildung besteht zwischen Mädchen und Knaben kein Unterschied. Vor allem nehme man die Realien zur Grundlage für das weitere Studium aller anderen Fächer. Wie in Japan der Reis und im Abendland das Brot die Hauptnahrung bildet, so sei die Grundlage aller wissenschaftlichen Ausbildung die Realien. Man lerne zunächst das Allgemeine hiervon und befleißige sich dann später, je nach Belieben oder Bedürfnis, spezieller Fächer. Man könnte beinahe sagen, daß es mit Ausnahme der Kriegswissenschaft keine Fächer gibt, die speziell für Mädchen unnötig sind. Aber der Umfang des Studiums bedarf einer gehörigen Erwägung. Denn für Frauen ist die allererste Aufgabe nach der Heirat die Wirtschaft, die ihnen zum Lernen wenig Zeit übrigläßt. Man sollte meinen, es komme auf die Vermögensverhältnisse an; Bemittelte könnten die Wirtschaft anderen überlassen, um sich ausschließlich einem Studium zu widmen. Aber die Frau ist körperlich anders geartet als der Mann. Abgesehen davon, daß sie monatlich einer physischen und psychischen Störung ausgesetzt ist, nehmen die Hauptaufgaben des Geschlechts, Schwangerschaft und Pflege der Kinder, viel Zeit in Anspruch. Folglich kann ihre wissenschaftliche Bildung mit der des Mannes schwerlich Schritt halten. Besonders in Japan war jene früher vernachlässigt, was zur Sitte geworden ist. Von einer unvermittelten Steigerung der Anforderungen kann man leicht reden, aber diese Steigerung entspricht einem Wunsche, der sich kaum erfüllen läßt. Ich stelle an die kurze Zeit der nächsten zehn bis zwanzig Jahre keine hohen Anforderungen; für weitere Vervollkommnung haben die kommenden Generationen Sorge zu tragen. Die gegenwärtige denke nur an die dringende Notwendigkeit, die darin liegt, den Mädchen der Gegenwart irgendwie die allgemeine Bildung zuteil werden zu lassen, die der heutigen Kultur entspricht; das ist mein Wunsch. Vor allem ist der Besitz der Kenntnis der Grundzüge der Physik, Physiologie, Hygiene, ebenso wie der Geographie und Geschichte, unentbehrlich. Auch die Pflanzenkunde könnte für Mädchen eine Beschäftigung sein, die ihnen Freude macht. Speziell japanische Frauen möchte ich besonders für zwei Hauptpunkte interessieren, nämlich für volkswirtschaftliche und juristische Fragen. Die Betonung derselben für Frauen könnte befremdend erscheinen. Aber gerade der gänzliche Mangel an diesen Kenntnissen ist die wichtigste unter allen den Ursachen der Einflußlosigkeit der Frauen. Darum ist es von großer Wichtigkeit, daß man Mädchen gleich nach Erlangung der allgemeinen Bildung die Grundzüge der Volkswirtschaft und Rechtskunde beibringt. Diese stellen gleichsam den Taschendolch<sup>1</sup> der modernen Japanerin dar.

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<sup>1</sup> Es war früher Sitte, daß die Frauen aus den Samuraisfamilien zur Notwehr einen Taschendolch trugen.

### 6. Anmut als Vorzug des weiblichen Geschlechts.

Da der Vorzug des weiblichen Geschlechts wesentlich in der Anmut besteht, dürfen die Mädchen selbst dann, wenn sie wissenschaftliche Bildung genießen, keineswegs so grob, frech, formlos, vorwitzig und eingebildet sein wie die männliche Jugend. Der Verkehr mit Menschen fordert einen angemessenen Ton. Nötigenfalls darf man zwar mit allem Ernst seine Meinungen äußern, ohne sich irgend zu genieren, aber man muß besonders auf die Art und Weise achten, wie man sich äußert. Ebenso können auch in der Schriftsprache dieselben Gedanken in verschiedener Form, in milder und vornehmer oder auch gemeiner und grober Form zum Ausdruck gebracht werden. Eine schlichte, scharfe Wendung ist oft recht wirksam, aber ein Federgewandter vermag durch eine ruhige Wendung den Leser oft noch mehr zu beeinflussen, gleichsam dergestalt, als wenn man, wie man zu sagen pflegt, den Hals mit Seidenwatte zuschnürt. Schon für Männer hat die Art und Weise des Redens eine große Bedeutung, wieviel mehr für Frauen. Die letzteren dürfen durchaus von keinen schroffen, groben Wendungen Gebrauch machen, sondern sie seien stets in Benehmen und Äußerung sanft und anmutig. Die Hauptsache ist nur, daß sie die Gründe klar darlegen und sorgfältig ihre Meinungen äußern. Das ist eben ein Verhalten, durch das Frauen ihre Würde aufrechterhalten können und das auch Männern Achtung einflößt. Die studierenden Mädchen, wenn ich so sagen darf, vergessen die Unzulänglichkeit ihrer Kenntnisse sowie den Mangel an Erfahrung und erlauben sich oft unbedachte Äußerungen, durch die sie sich lächerlich machen. Das ist ein Verhalten, das mir durchaus nicht sympathisch ist.

### 7. Bedeutung der wissenschaftlichen Bildung für Mädchen.

Die Bedeutung der Anmut für Frauen ist erwähnt worden. Daraus ergibt sich, daß man ästhetische Spiele und Künste, deren Pflege besonders für Frauen geeignet ist, nicht vernachlässigen darf, wenn es die Verhältnisse erlauben. Zu derartigen Spielen gehören die Teezeremonie<sup>1</sup>, das Einsticken der Blumen in Vasen, das Dichten und die Kalligraphie und Malerei. Es wird wohl Leute geben, die unter dem wissenschaftlichen Studium für Frauen etwa nur die Erlernung der altjapanischen Literatur und Auffassung von Versen von 31 Silben<sup>2</sup> verstehen. Gewiß, das Studium der älteren Literatur, ebenso gut wie das Dichten im alten Stil ist eine vornehme, geistreiche Beschäftigung, die aber über eine Liebhaberei nicht hinausgeht und auf die Praxis im Familienleben so wenig Anwendung findet wie der ästhetische Sinn für Musik, Teezeremonie und Blumenarrangement in der Küche keine Anwendung findet. Dazu kommt, daß die ältere Literatur nicht selten phanta-

<sup>1</sup> Teezeremonie, eine Art Gesellschaftsspiel, bei dem man pulverisierten Tee aufbrüht und anbietet.

<sup>2</sup> Ein kurzes klassisches Gedicht besteht aus 31 Silben.

stische Einfälle aufweist, während es ihr an realistischer Auffassung mangelt, nicht minder, daß unter der Hülle reizvoller Worte Unsittlichkeit verborgen ist. Man denke z. B. an die Hyakuninishu<sup>1</sup>, die verbreitetste Sammlung von hundert Gedichten. Sie kann wohl auf Mädchen nicht schädlich wirken, die sie lesen und hören, ohne den Sinn zu verstehen. Wenn diese Gedichte aber im einzelnen erläutert und in die Umgangssprache umschrieben werden würden, ließen sie sich ihrer unsittlichen, unreinen Motive halber wohl anhören wie volkstümliche Dodoitsulieder<sup>2</sup>. Diese Lieder machen darum einen gemeinen Eindruck, weil man sie immer in Begleitung des Samisen<sup>3</sup> singt und dabei skandalös jodelt. Auf dieselbe Art mit Jodeln gesungen, würden auch klassische Gedichte von 31 Silben ebenso gemeinklingen wie die anderen. Die alten Gedichte sind ebensowenig zu schätzen wie Dodoitsu-, Nagauta- und Kiyomotolieder<sup>4</sup>. Alle diese Lieder werden nur angehört etwa wie die Sutra, die die buddhistischen Priester ablesen, ohne daß man den Inhalt versteht. Es ist klar, daß eine inhaltliche Auslegung jener Gedichte keinen praktischen Nutzen bringt. Man denke an die gelehrten Frauen, die sich angeblich in der Auslegung der altjapanischen Literatur auszeichnen. Sie vergessen darüber sogar ihre eigenen Verpflichtungen, verfehlten bei ihrer Erkrankung die Wahl der Ärzte, vergreifen sich bei der Pflege ihrer erkrankten älteren wie jüngeren Angehörigen. Nicht selten gibt es sogar solche, die sich um etwas ganz Unglaubliches bekümmern wie Handphysiognomie, Sterndeutung und Wahrsagerei und hoffen, dadurch Glück zu erlangen. Im Grunde sind hier lediglich Unwissenheit und Aberglaube im Spiele. Daß die Mädchen altjapanische Literatur als schöne Kunst studieren, dagegen läßt sich nichts einwenden, aber ich kann nicht zugeben, daß die Mädchen in der altjapanischen Literatur ihr einziges Spezialfach sehen und diesem Studium ihr ganzes Leben widmen.

#### 8. Sittliche Erziehung für Mädchen.

Für die sittliche Erziehung der Mädchen dürfte es verschiedene geeignete Bücher geben; nicht minder dürften ihr ermahnende Worte der Eltern sowie der älteren Bekannten gute Dienste leisten. Aber es gibt ein näherliegendes und wirksameres Erziehungsmittel als Lektüre und Worte. Es ist das Betragen der Eltern selbst. Wie ich immer betone, darf man nievals vergessen, daß der ethische Impuls nicht durch das Ohr, sondern durch das Auge vermittelt wird. Sittlichkeit und edle Gesinnung der Eltern bringen von selbst eine schöne Familiensitte mit sich, die die Töchter zur

<sup>1</sup> hyakuninishu, Sammlung von hundert Gedichten, schon mehrfach übersetzt, u. a. ins Deutsche von P. Ehmann, erschienen in den Mitteilungen der deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur und Völkerkunde Ostasiens.

<sup>2</sup> dodoitsu (sowie nagauta und kiyomoto) sind populäre Liederarten, die mit Begleitung von Instrumenten gesungen werden und nicht als klassisch gelten.

<sup>3</sup> samisen, eine Art Gitarre.

Sittlichkeit führt, ohne daß man zu moralisieren braucht. Man halte fest, die sittliche Lebensführung und ordentliche Haushaltung sei für die Eltern nicht nur von Interesse, sondern auch Pflicht, die zum Vorteil der Nachkommen wahrgenommen werden muß.

#### 9. Harmonie im Familienkreise.

Es gibt allerlei gute Familiensitten, aber die wichtigsten sind Harmonie und Aufrichtigkeit der Verwandten untereinander. Was die Kinder der Mutter offenbaren, sollen sie ebenfalls dem Vater sagen. Was der Vater den Kindern mitteilt, davon muß auch die Mutter wissen. Jede Aussage der Mutter den Kindern gegenüber muß auch dem Vater bekannt sein. Wenn, mit Ausnahme außergewöhnlicher Fälle, in nichts ein Geheimnis besteht, Eltern und Kinder gegeneinander rückhaltlos offen sind, dann stehen sie miteinander gut. «Ich bin der Ansicht, aber das darf der Vater nicht wissen», «das ist mein persönlicher Entschluß, es muß der Mutter unbekannt bleiben», derartige Redensarten hört man oft. Worum es sich auch handeln mag, es ist gleichsam Politik, die Blutsverwandte untereinander anwenden, aber dies ist ein Verhalten, das dem Grundsatz der Mädchenerziehung widerspricht.

#### 10. Heirat.

Wenn die Mädchen erwachsen sind und die Erziehung in Schule und Haus hinter sich haben, kommt die Heirat in Frage, ein entscheidender Umstand für ihr ganzes Leben. Im Abendlande soll es Sitte sein, daß zunächst jungen Männern und Mädchen Gelegenheit geboten wird, sich gegenseitig kennen zu lernen, und daß ein Mädchen mit einem Ausgewählten freundschaftlichen Verkehr pflegen darf. Wenn beide Teile dann einen festen Entschluß gefaßt haben, holen sie sich die Zustimmung der Eltern zur Heirat. Aber in Japan verhält es sich anders. Für Söhne und Töchter eine Partie zu finden, ist die Aufgabe der Eltern. Haben die Kinder das angemessene Alter erreicht, bemühen sich die Eltern, zunächst eine Partie ausfindig zu machen und verschaffen sich dann über die in Aussicht Genommenen Auskunft. Wenn sie sich nach mehrmaligem Schwanken und Abwägen ihrerseits zugunsten des einen oder des anderen entschlossen haben, dann überlassen sie ihrem Kinde die endgültige Entscheidung, das ist der japanische Heiratsbrauch. Dieser Umstand mag den Anschein haben, als ob die Heirat der Kinder von dem Willen der Eltern abhänge und die Betreffenden diesen als ihr Schicksal anzusehen haben, aber in der Tat ist das nicht der Fall. Die Eltern sind nur Antragsteller, aber nicht Entscheidende. Schon eine leise Ablehnung der Betreffenden auf die Anfrage setzt die Eltern völlig außerstande, ihren Willen durchzusetzen. Im Gegenteil ist es Sitte, daß diese sofort ihren Antrag zurückziehen und wieder anfangen, einen anderen in Betracht Kommenden zu prüfen. Es ist oft von den Ausländern behauptet worden, daß in Anbetracht des japanischen Heiratsbrauchs nur der Wille der Eltern den Ausschlag gebe, eine oberflächliche Behauptung, die auf

Unkenntnis der wirklichen Verhältnisse beruht und somit durchaus keine Beachtung verdient. Es verhält sich ungefähr so wie mit dem Umstand, daß die Samurai in der Feudalzeit Bauern sowie Bürger ohne weiteres niederrauen durften, während es in der Tat niemals vorgekommen ist. Es war nur ein nominelles Vorrecht des Samurai, dessen Ausführung die gute Sitte nicht duldet. Allerdings kommt es in der großen Welt vor, daß Eltern ihre eigenen Töchter für gewisse Summen verkaufen; es dürfte auch Eltern geben, die ihre Töchter sozusagen durch ihren elterlichen Einfluß zur Heirat zwingen. Sie sind als ebenso herzlose Ungeheuer in Menschengestalt zu bezeichnen wie betrunkene junge Samurai in früheren Zeiten, die im Vorbeigehen unschuldige Bürger niederhieben. Solche Leute werden zum allgemeinen Abscheu. Abgesehen von derartigen Ausnahmefällen dürfen die Mädchen im allgemeinen keine Ursache haben, über den althergebrachten Heiratsbrauch zu klagen.

#### 11. Gesellschaftlicher Verkehr beider Geschlechter.

Gewiß, ich halte es für sehr zweckmäßig, daß die Eltern selbst für die Unterbringung ihrer Kinder sorgen, zumal ich glaube, daß die Freiheit der letzteren dadurch nicht beeinträchtigt wird. Aber es liegt mir sehr daran, einen Schritt weiter zu tun und es dahin zu bringen, daß der gesellschaftliche Verkehr beider Geschlechter in edler und feiner Art, in weiteren Kreisen und zwangloser gepflegt werde, um unter den Geschlechtern ein harmonisches Leben einzuführen, ohne dabei den Anstand zu verletzen. Da die Mädchen in diesem Fall mehr Gelegenheit haben, Menschen kennen zu lernen, werden sie leichter und sicherer über einen Antrag der Eltern entscheiden können. Auch können sie, wenn sie für einen Mann aus eigenem Antrieb Neigung fühlen, dies den Eltern entweder selbst sagen oder durch jemand vertraulich mitteilen lassen, was wohl den Eltern ebenso angenehm sein wird wie den Kindern. Eine Durchführung des Gesagten ist selbstverständlich schon für die Gegenwart wünschenswert; aber leider wird es vorläufig nur ein Wunsch bleiben, der nicht so bald in Erfüllung gehen wird. Es ist wohl zu befürchten, daß eine unvorbereitete Einführung des freien gesellschaftlichen Verkehrs mehr Schaden als Nutzen zur Folge haben wird. Solange der gesellschaftliche Verkehr beider Geschlechter nicht zur Genüge entwickelt ist, ist er nur ein physischer, aber kein seelischer. Man sehe z. B., wie sich niedrig gesinnte Männer mit Geishas amüsieren. Dies dürfte auch nicht anders als ein Verkehr beider Geschlechter bezeichnet werden; aber die Art und Weise, wie sie sich dabei betragen, ist niederrächtig und unanständig. Eine solche Gemeinschaft kann mit einem edlen seelischen Verkehr durchaus keinen Vergleich aushalten. Es mag unter den Geishas Mädchen geben, die nicht völlig ehrlos sind, aber im Grunde sind sie so gut wie in den Sumpf des Lasters versunken. Eine Sittenreform ist daher die erste Vorbedingung für die erweiterte Pflege des edlen Verkehrs beider Geschlechter, ebenso wie für eine freiere Eheschließung. Aber freilich, man

darf die Sittenreform nicht erst von der Zukunft erwarten; ich wünsche und rate allen Volksgenossen von edler Gesinnung, das Vorbild der Tat zu geben und dadurch selbst die Sitten zu reformieren.

### 12. Eheliche Treue.

Mädchen wie junge Männer heiraten bald in eine fremde Familie, bald bleiben sie in ihrer eigenen, um sich mit einem adoptierten Sohn ihrer Eltern zu verheiraten, bald gründen beide, von den Eltern getrennt, eine neue Familie. Wie die Heirat auch geartet sein mag, müssen die Eheleute als Verbündete bis in den Tod in Not und Freude einander treu bleiben. Manche haben wohl das Gefühl, daß die Heirat, deren Schließung die Mädchen als eine Pflicht betrachten, der Keim der künftigen Sorge sei, während sie ihr ganzes Leben sorgenlos hätten leben können, wenn sie ledig geblieben wären. Das gemeinschaftliche Leben von Mann und Frau ist das Gebot der Natur; die Freude am Familienleben dürfte die damit verbundene Sorge mehr als ersetzen. Durch die Heirat werden wohl die Sorgen, aber doch auch die Freuden eines Junggesellen verdoppelt. Mann und Frau stellen gleichsam zusammen eine Person dar. Eine Erkrankung der Frau bereitet dem Manne ebenso Kummer wie eine Beleidigung des Mannes der Frau. Sie beide fühlen sich in dem einen Fall durchaus nicht anders wie in dem anderen. Weit entfernt davon, diese Wahrheit einzusehen, denkt man oft nur an die Freuden der Heirat und nicht an die damit verbundenen Sorgen. Daher kommt es leider ebenso oft vor, daß ein Gatte seine bejahrte Gattin im Stich läßt, um sich einer Nebenfrau zu widmen, sowie, daß eine Ehefrau, der kümmerlichen Wirtschaft überdrüssig, ihren Gatten verläßt. Sie sind beide in der Tat nichtswürdige Menschen, die die Bestimmung der Ehe nicht beachten, und zeigen damit ein Verhalten, vor dem man behütet werden möchte.

### 13. Schwiegereltern und Schwiegertöchter.

Es sind von jeher viele Worte darüber gemacht worden, wie sich eine junge Ehefrau, besonders eine solche, die in eine Familie hineingeheiratet hat, den Schwiegereltern gegenüber stellen soll. Tatsächlich ist es keine Seltenheit, daß zwischen zwei Geschlechtsgenossen, Schwiegermutter und Schwiegertochter, eine bedenkliche Uneinigkeit herrscht. Es ist wohl kaum unrichtig anzunehmen, daß sie beide in fast allen Familien im ganzen Lande in stiller Spannung leben; offenbar sind weder alle Schwiegermütter in ganz Japan noch alle Schwiegertöchter schlechte Weiber. Daß im allgemeinen, ganz abgesehen von ihren persönlichen Eigenschaften, zwischen beiden keine friedlichen Beziehungen bestehen können, daran sind im Grunde nicht die Leute schuld, sondern die sozialen Verhältnisse der Zeit. Mit anderen Worten: dieser Zustand beruht auf nichts anderem als auf den herrschenden Sitten und Gebräuchen. Hiernach wird verlangt, daß die Schwiegertöchter ihre Schwiegereltern so gut wie ihre leiblichen Eltern, ja sogar noch herzlicher und freundlicher als die letzteren, behandeln, dagegen auch die Schwieger-

eltern ihrerseits die Schwiegertöchter wie ihre leiblichen Töchter lieben sollen. Wenn diese Anforderung ohne weiteres erfüllt werden würde, so wäre nichts zu beklagen. Aber Gefühle lassen sich nicht erzwingen. Denn es ist unmöglich, angeheiratete Eltern für eigene und angeheiratete Töchter für leibliche zu halten. So beruht meist ihr gegenseitiger Umgang in keiner Hinsicht auf herzlicher Zuneigung, sondern er bleibt ein nur oberflächlicher und formeller. Selbst in dem Falle, wo jemand die Absicht hat, den anderen mit aller Aufrichtigkeit entgegenzutreten, kann er ihm nicht wirklich näher kommen, wenn der letztere verschlossen ist oder wenn der erstere dies auch nur annimmt. Schließlich bleibt beiden nichts anderes übrig, als daß sie im Sinne des Sprichwortes: »Nichtbeleidigte Götter strafen nicht« nur äußerlich in schönen Worten gleichgültige Reden führen, ohne ihre wahren Gefühle zu offenbaren. Diese mögen nicht nur keine schlechten, sondern sogar wirklich herzliche sein; dennoch sind die Menschen über sich hin unklares, wenn sie verschwiegen bleiben. Diese Stimmung steht durchaus in keinem Vergleich zu der harmlosen Stimmung, die zwischen Eltern und ihren leiblichen Kindern herrscht und die sich darin äußert, daß Irrtümer und Mißverständnisse, die rücksichtslose Äußerungen im Verkehr veranlaßt haben, trotz der elterlichen Ermahnungen und der Vorwürfe der Kinder, schließlich in einem einmaligen Gelächter enden, ohne daß sich später Schlimmes daraus entwickelt. Abgesehen von äußerst seltenen Ausnahmefällen ist es für den fühlenden Menschen eine unausführbare Forderung, die Beziehungen zwischen den Schwiegereltern und -kindern ganz befriedigend zu gestalten, mögen ihre Charaktereigenschaften und Familiensitten noch so veredelt sein. Im Grunde ist die heutige Sitte, unter der Schwiegereltern ebensoviel leiden wie Schwiegertöchter, aus der überkommenen Mädchenerziehung hervorgegangen. Es wäre mehr zu wünschen, daß man bessere Maßregeln trifft, um den Familienfrieden auf das echt menschliche Gefühl zu gründen, als daß man sich umsonst bestrebt, einer unnatürlichen Anforderung zu entsprechen.

#### 14. Wohnungsweise der Ehepaare.

Schwiegereltern und Schwiegertöchter sind eigentlich in ihrem Verhältnis zueinander weder Eltern noch Kinder. Der Leser sei besonders darauf hingewiesen, daß man dem Wesen des menschlichen Gefühls am meisten gerecht wird, wenn man in Berücksichtigung dieser wirklichen, d. h. nicht blutsverwandtschaftlichen Beziehung eine neue Maßregel trifft, um die familiäre Eintracht zu erzielen. Die Beziehung zwischen Mann und Frau besteht darin, daß es sie selbstverständlich zueinander zieht, wenn man sie einander näher bringt, aber um so mehr, je mehr man sie voneinander hält. Dagegen ist die Beziehung zwischen Schwiegereltern und Schwiegertöchtern derartig, daß eine Trennung zwischen ihnen ihre gegenseitige Zuneigung begünstigt, während ein dauernd enges Zusammenleben nur zu Zwistigkeiten Veranlassung gibt. Natürlich ist es zwar, wenn das Ehepaar nach der Heirat, von den Eltern getrennt, einen besonderen Haushalt gründet; aber zugegeben, daß dies von allerlei Umständen abhängig ist, möchte ich die Forderung erheben, daß

das junge Ehepaar eine gesonderte Wirtschaft führt. Es ist gleich, ob der Familienerbe eine fremde Tochter heiratet oder ein adoptierter Sohn die Tochter des Hauses: die Ehepaare, das ältere und jüngere, sollten nicht in einer und derselben Wohnung zusammenleben, wenn auch auf demselben Terrain, so doch mit getrenntem Haushalt oder, wenn es finanzielle Verhältnisse nicht gestatten, auch in derselben Wohnung in zwei selbständigen Wirtschaften. Von der größten Wichtigkeit ist im Grunde eine Einrichtung, bei der die Ehepaare, das ältere und das jüngere, möglichst selten in Berührung kommen. Abgesehen davon, daß Schwiegereltern und Schwieger-töchter keine leiblichen Verwandten sind, stehen sie auch in ganz verschiedenem Lebensalter. Es liegt auf der Hand, daß sie über Kleider, Essen, Trunken und sonstige Dinge verschiedene Ansichten und Wünsche haben. So verschiedenartig Elemente können unmöglich miteinander harmonieren. Diese Verschiedenheiten tragen nur dazu bei, die beiderseitigen Gemüter zu reizen. Wenn sie sich voneinander fernhalten, so daß sie sich kaum kontrollieren und gegenseitig nicht in persönliche Angelegenheiten noch in Geheimnisse hineinrinnen, so sind die älteren sowie die jüngeren Gatten in gewissem Sinne voneinander unabhängig und die Haushaltungen ebenfalls. Eben dieses Fernbleiben bildet gerade ein Band, das sie zueinander zieht und die Unerträglichkeit lindert. Ferner tritt dann von selbst eine Harmonie zwischen Schwiegereltern und -töchtern ein, die mit innerer Notwendigkeit das Glück des friedlichen Familienlebens mit sich bringt. Es ist ein Mittel, durch das man das jüngere Ehepaar, das an sich schon die Neigung hat, für sich allein zu leben, an die Schwiegereltern fesselt, unglückliche Reibungen zwischen ihm und dem älteren beseitigt und beiden Ehepaaren dadurch Gelegenheit gibt, sich nacheinander zu sehnen. Es beklagen sich oft Ehepaare, die mit den verheirateten Kindern, entweder ihrem Sohne oder ihrer Tochter, der Frau ihres adoptierten Sohnes, unnötigerweise zusammenwohnen, bei vorkommenden Uneinigkeiten darüber, daß ihre Schwiegerkinder oft unzufrieden sind, trotzdem sie sie in ihrer Nähe behalten, um zärtlich für sie zu sorgen. Eben diese zärtliche Sorge in der nächsten Nähe ist der Anlaß zum Kummer auf beiden Seiten. Im Grunde ist daran jedoch niemand schuld; es ist nur eine Folge der herrschenden Sitte. Es ist die unglücklichste Art und Weise des Wohnens, bei dem das ältere wie das jüngere Ehepaar trotz ihrer verschiedenenartigen Neigungen zusammenleben müssen, bloß um sich gegenseitig Gram zu bereiten.

### 15. Behandlung der Schwiegereltern.

Vorausgesetzt, daß das jüngere Ehepaar, soweit es die Verhältnisse erlauben, von dem älteren getrennt lebt, betrachten wir nun, wie sich die Schwiegertochter den Schwiegereltern gegenüber stellen soll. Der jungen Frau liegt die Sorge für ihren Gatten ebenso am Herzen wie die Sorge für ihre leiblichen Eltern. Es handelt sich nun für sie um die Schwiegereltern, die ihr geliebter Gatte als seine leiblichen Eltern äußerst hochschätzt und liebt. Es ergibt sich schon aus der innigen Liebe zu ihrem Manne,

daß sie sich auch ihren Schwiegereltern gegenüber herzlich erweist, ohne daran zu denken, daß diese keine leiblichen Eltern sind. Läßt sich doch eine Gattin alles angelegen sein, was ihr Gatte gern hat, sogar etwas Unbedeutendes, wie Pferde, Hunde, Geräte usw., wieviel mehr die Eltern, die ihren Mann zur Welt gebracht haben, der einzig für sie da ist. Sie sei stets bemüht, die Schwiegereltern zärtlich zu pflegen, ihr Gemüt friedlich zu stimmen, ihnen durchaus keine Unannehmlichkeiten zu bereiten. Dazu kommt, daß ältere Leute langjährige Erfahrungen besitzen. Man lege ihnen darum alles, soweit es angeht, offen dar und berate sich mit ihnen darüber. Diese scheinbare Belästigung gereicht ihnen als Beweis dafür, daß man sie nicht unbeachtet läßt, gerade zur Freude. Es kam einst vor, daß ein Neuophilologe eine etwas Englisch sprechende Dame zur Frau nahm. Beide vertrugen sich gut, aber niemals fragten sie die alte Schwiegermutter um Rat, sondern sie pflegten alles allein zu entscheiden, ohne sie davon in Kenntnis zu setzen; es war, als ob sie gar nicht da wäre. Eines Tages fing man bei ihnen an, das Zimmer auszuräumen und das Hausgerät hinauszutragen. Auf die Frage, was dieses Vorgehen bedeute, erhielt die Mutter von der Schwiegertochter zu ihrem Schrecken die Antwort, daß heute Umzug sei. Die Mutter war noch nicht sehr alt, sowohl geistig wie auch körperlich rüstig und auch urteilsfähig. Lediglich aber darum, weil sie die jungen Gatten nicht leiden konnte, pflegten sich diese stets über alle Familienangelegenheiten englisch zu verständigen. Die Schwiegermutter hatte folglich bis zu dem Morgen auch von dem Umzuge keine Kenntnis erhalten. Sie wurde ahnungslos, ganz wie im Traum, in die neue Wohnung gebracht, etwa wie ein Gepäckstück. Diese Unhöflichkeit, Rücksichtslosigkeit und Taktlosigkeit des Sohnes ist unverzeihlich, nicht minder aber auch die Ungezogenheit der Schwiegertochter. Wenn so etwas bei unbildeten Leuten aus niederem Stande sich ereignet hätte, könnte man es noch allenfalls entschuldigen, aber ein solcher Skandal bei Leuten höheren Standes ist geradezu haarsträubend. In der Meinung, daß eine Mitteilung über den Umzug zwecklos sei, weil man auf etwaige Wünsche der Alten nicht eingehen will, haben beide ausschließlich im Einverständnis unter sich ihren Entschluß gefaßt. Sie wissen zwar sozusagen von der Pflicht, dem Körper der Alten Nahrung zu bieten, aber nicht von der, das Herz und Gemüt zu pflegen. Ein solches Vorgehen wäre viel mehr einem gänzlichen Mangel an Menschlichkeit zuzuschreiben, als daß man es mit Unhöflichkeit und Ungezogenheit bezeichnen könnte. Sie sind Ummenschen, denen die moralische Urteilsfähigkeit abhanden gekommen ist. Möge dieses Beispiel jungen Mädchen zur Warnung dienen.

#### 16. Pflege der Kinder.

Die Pflege der Kinder ist eine spezielle Aufgabe für Frauen. Mögen sie noch so vermögend sein, sie sollen dieselben doch, gemäß der Bestimmung ihres Geschlechts, selbst nähren. Selbst wenn sie krank oder aus hygienischen Rücksichten gezwungen sind, eine Amme zu halten, dürfen sie niemals

unterlassen, wenigstens morgens und abends den Kindern ihre Aufmerksamkeit zu widmen. Ferner ist es Aufgabe der Mütter, auch nach der Entwöhnung nicht nur Nahrung und Kleidung der Kinder, sondern auch die unwesentlichsten Kleinigkeiten nicht unbeachtet zu lassen; hierbei darf von einer Vertretung keine Rede sein. Speisen und Kleider sind nur äußere Dinge. Es ist deshalb anscheinend gleich, wer den Kindern zu essen gibt oder dieselben anzieht; aber man darf nie vergessen, wie die Mutter bei der eigenen Verrichtung dieser Dinge die Kinder moralisch beeinflussen kann. Es soll schon die Entwicklung der Seidenraupen verschieden ausfallen, je nachdem die Pflege durch Angehörige der Familie erfolgt oder den Dienstboten überlassen ist. Welch ein gewaltiger Unterschied mag erst bei einem Kinde bestehen, das von seiner eigenen Mutter gepflegt oder von Dienstboten verschen wird. Es bedarf keiner Erwähnung, daß die Pflege durch freinde Leute in diesem Falle durchaus nicht angebracht ist. Zu bedauern sind Frauen, die oft, ohne diese Wahrheit zu erkennen, im Flicken und Nähen von Kleidungsstücken ebenso wie im Speisen und Anziehen ihrer Kinder eine Last finden, die sie ohne weiteres die Dienstboten tragen lassen, um sich selbst ihrem gesellschaftlichen Verkehr, nicht minder eigenem Amusement hinzugeben. Daß Frauen einem Vergnügen nachgehen, ist an sich nicht zu tadeln. Zur Erholung und Zerstreuung mag ihnen eine Blütenchau oder gar eine Badekur dienen; selbst der gesellschaftliche Verkehr hat seine Vorzüge. Wenn man aber bedenkt, wie oft ein Ehepaar sein neugeborenes Kind zu Hause zurückläßt, wo dieses nur auf die meist unzuverlässigen Dienstboten und deren Pflege mit Kuhmilch angewiesen ist, so wird man lebhaft an die Pflege der Seidenraupen durch Dienstboten erinnert. Man kann sich die Antwort auf die Frage selbst geben, wie die Entwicklung eines derartig gepflegten Kindes ausfallen wird. Früher gab es in aristokratischen Familien viele körperlich wie geistig schwache Kinder; dies ist nur darauf zurückzuführen, daß aristokratische Frauen zwar Kinder zur Welt zu bringen, aber nicht zu pflegen verstanden, was auch der Beachtung wert ist. Damit wollen wir die Frauen nicht etwa vom Ausgehen abhalten, im Gegenteil, wir wünschen, daß sie lebhaft und frisch sind. Ich gebe Ihnen aber durchaus nicht meine Zustimmung, wenn sie die Aufgabe ihres Geschlechtes, die Pflege der Kinder, außer acht lassen, um sich dem Vergnügen zu widmen. In dieser Beziehung läßt auch die europäische Gesellschaftssitte viel zu wünschen übrig. Da fernerhin die Aufgabe der Frau auch in der Fürsorge für die Familie besteht, ist es wünschenswert, daß sie hierfür einige Kenntnisse in der Pathologie und Physiologie besitzt, doch sollte die willkürliche Behandlung eines erkrankten Familienmitgliedes streng verboten sein. Bei plötzlichen Krankheitsfällen oder Verletzungen kommt es ja oft vor, daß man sich, bevor ein Arzt zur Stelle ist, durch momentane Einfälle und eigenen Erfindungsgeist nutzlos verführen läßt, dem Kranken die erste Hilfe zu leisten, wodurch man ihm viel mehr schaden als nützen kann. Gegen Leibscherzen, etwa bei Kindern, darf nie von den bekannten Medizinien Myōyaku und Kuroyaki<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> myōyaku und kuroyaki, Namen von Arzneimitteln.

Gebraucht gemacht werden, weil sie medizinisch bedenklich sind. In dringenden Fällen darf man vor Ankunft eines Arztes mit großer Vorsicht äußere Kurmittel anwenden, wie z. B. ein Halbbad, oder Umschläge oder bei Verstopfung ein Klistier, aber innere Medizin darf auf keinen Fall eingegeben werden; man muß unbedingt die Verordnungen des Arztes abwarten. Ist einer durch einen tiefen Fall bewußtlos geworden, so beschränke man sich darauf, z. B. Sake oder Shōchū<sup>1</sup> zu geben, und eine Stichwunde darf man vorläufig mit Verbandwatte verbinden, sonst aber damit keinerlei unnütze Handlungen vornehmen. Es ist vorgekommen, daß ein Mann mit zusammengeballtem Staub aus dem Ärmel seines Kimono das Blut stillte, als er sich beim Rasieren geschnitten hatte. Zwar wurde das Blut gestillt, doch war gerade der Staub die Ursache einer nun folgenden schweren Blutvergiftung. Man muß bedenken, daß an solchen Fehlern im Grunde genommen Unwissenheit schuld ist. Es sind überall japanische und europäische Bücher zu haben, die über die erste Hilfe bei Krankheitsfällen Auskunft geben. Diese Lektüre kostet keine besondere Mühe, vielmehr wird sie die Frauen interessieren.

#### 17. Behandlung der Dienstboten.

Die Behandlung der Dienerschaft ist für die Herrschaft eine schwierige Aufgabe. Wie sich die Dienstboten durch ihre Arbeit körperlich anstrengen, so die Herrschaften geistig, und letztere oft noch in höherem Maße. Unter den Dienstboten gibt es verschiedene Charaktere; außerst treue sind eine Ausnahme. Abgesehen von einigen wenigen treten sie meist aus Mangel an Mitteln und Bildung in einen fremden Dienst. Die Herrschaften müssen sich einerseits bemühen, auf jene, wie sie auch veranlagt sein mögen, erzieherisch einzuwirken, und sich bei Auträgen für die Wirtschaft stets freundlich zeigen, andererseits kann man von vornherein überzeugt sein, daß sie nicht so viel leisten, wie man wünscht, und man fordere deshalb von ihnen nicht zu viel. Töricht ist derjenige, welcher sich nutzlos ärgert, indem er Fehler der Dienerinnen und Vernachlässigungen der Diener aufzählt. Wenn man glaubt, daß die gegenwärtigen Dienstboten nicht gut und tüchtig sind, so erinnere man sich an die der vergangenen Jahre und prüfe nach, welche von allen ihren Vorgängern die besten gewesen sind und am meisten gefallen haben. Aus einer Aufzählung derselben wird wohl hervorgehen, daß sie alle ebensoviel Fehler wie Vorteile gehabt haben und nur eine geringe Anzahl vorwurfsfrei gewesen ist. Und wie es in der Vergangenheit war und in der Gegenwart ist, wird es voraussichtlich auch in der Zukunft bleiben. Man sei deshalb im Verkehr mit ihnen nachsichtig. Bei Vorwürfen gegen die Dienstboten über Fehler und schlechte Arbeit sind die Schelten immer häßlicher anzusehen als die Gescholtenen; das möge die Herrschaft herzigen.

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<sup>1</sup> sake = Reisbier; shōchū = Branntwein.

### 18. Haushalt.

Die Leitung des Haushaltes ist die Hauptaufgabe der Frau; anscheinend bracht sie sich nur um die Ausgaben und nicht um die Einnahmen zu kümmern. Wenn dies aber tatsächlich der Fall ist, dann ist an eine pekuniäre Sicherheit der Familie nicht zu denken. Der Mann kann nicht ewig leben. Im normalen Falle stirbt er, als der ältere, znerst. Die Frau kann leicht, wenn sie frühzeitig ihren Mann verliert, in die unglückliche Lage geraten, die Ernährung von zahlreichen Kindern und die Erhaltung des ganzen Haushaltes allein zu übernehmen. Wenn sie, wie es oft der Fall ist, von den Berufsgeschäften des verstorbenen Gatten außer dem Hause, seinen persönlichen Beziehungen zu andern und seinen Schulden oder Schuldforderungen, deren Bedingungen u. dgl. nichts weiß und die Bücher keine Auskunft darüber geben, kann dies für die Frau und die ganze Familie äußerst verhängnisvoll werden. Oft entstehen daraus allerlei Mißverständnisse, nicht selten führen diese zum Prozeß. Im Grunde genommen ist die Frau daran schuld, die sich außer um die häuslichen Familienangelegenheiten sonst um nichts bekümmert hat. Für das Leben und Bestehen des Ehepaars, ebenso für den geschäftlichen Betrieb außer dem Hause ist freilich der Mann verantwortlich, doch ist es für die Frau von großer Bedeutung, nicht nur darüber orientiert zu sein, was der Mann geschäftlich betreibt, sondern auch von Zeit zu Zeit darauf zu achten, wie es mit dem Erwerb steht. In diesem Sinn möchte ich die Unentbehrlichkeit der volkswirtschaftlichen Kenntnisse für die Mädchen befürworten.

### 19. Wahre Weiblichkeit.

Die Frauen mögen noch so gebildet, belesen, belehrt und begabt sein, wenn sie von keinem geistigen Adel besetzt sind und sich in ihrem Wesen irgendeine Unfeinheit und Taktlosigkeit äußert, büßen sie an wahrer Weiblichkeit ein. Mit dem letzteren weise ich nicht nur auf eine etwaige Schandhaftigkeit hin, die Vorwürfe verdient, sondern auch darauf, daß es als infames, niederrächtiges Verhalten gebrandmarkt werden muß, wenn man sich z. B. im täglichen Leben gemein benimmt und ausdrückt, d. h. in Gesprächen aus Unwissenheit häufig Ausdrücke gebraucht, die der Anstand nicht duldet, so daß der Hörer erröten muß. Niedere Frauen, wie Geisha, die, schön geputzt, im Kreise von betrunkenen Männern singen, tanzen und daneben bedienen, ohne sich vor den unziemlichen Ausdrücken, die sie dabei benutzen, zu genieren, haben den Anschein, als ob sie nur lebhafter und harmloser Natur wären. Es mag sein, dass manche von ihnen auch tatsächlich harmlos und unschuldig sind, aber man kann doch nicht umhin, sie anders zu bezeichnen als die unausständigsten in der ganzen Gesellschaft. Die Geisha als Unwürdige kommt selbstverständlich hier nicht in Betracht. Weit entfernt, damit eine Parallelie zu ziehen, sei doch bemerkt, daß es auch in höheren Kreisen Leute gibt, die sich im Benehmen vergessen, ohne es zu wissen. Mit dem Fortschritt der Erziehung in der modernen Zeit ist die Zahl der Wörter an-

gewachsen. Viele chinesische Ausdrücke, die bisher nur in Gelehrtenkreisen gebräuchlich waren, sind jetzt allgemein üblich geworden; darunter ist besonders der Ausdruck *shikyū*<sup>1</sup> anstößig. Früher pflegte man alle Frauenkrankheiten allgemein nur mit »chinomichi« -Blutweg- zu bezeichnen; näheres davon hörte man nur vom Arzt; unter Laien gab es keine, die davon sprechen und hören wollten. Neuerdings gebraucht man im täglichen gesellschaftlichen Gespräch den Ausdruck, ohne sich zu genieren. Nicht nur, daß man das Wort auf Schildern der Apotheken findet, sondern es kommt auch merkwürdigerweise zuweilen vor, daß es, zu unserem Entsetzen, dem Munde einer Dame entspringt. Das Wort *shikyū* ist die direkte Übersetzung des in Europa gebräuchlichen, lateinischen Wortes Uterus. In den europäischen Staaten wird es nur unter Ärzten gebraucht. Im Notfall, bei Untersuchungen und Operationen, teilt man es den Leidenden oder einem ihrer Angehörigen nur diskret mit. Mit Ausnahme eines medizinischen Gespräches ist es ausgeschlossen, einen Europäer von Uterus sprechen zu hören, wieviel mehr noch eine Dame, sie spricht es wohl nur's Leben nicht aus. Aber die Japaner genieren sich dabei gar nicht, die Betreffenden scheinen nicht zu wissen, daß es schamlos ist. Es läßt sich hier nicht alles aufzählen, was unangenehm zu sehen und zu hören ist, und schließlich darf auch nicht die ganze Schnild daran den Frauen allein zugemessen werden. Sie ist der geringen Gewissenhaftigkeit der Gelehrten und Pädagogen, die die Vorbilder der Gesellschaft sind, und der Unwissenheit und Unaufmerksamkeit der Behörden zuzuschreiben.

#### 20. Lektüre.

Es ist eine Nebenerscheinung bei der fortgeschrittenen Mädchenerziehung, daß sich Frauen über etwas Ungebührliches besprechen und dabei noch ungeniert bedenkliche Ausdrücke gebrauchen, was auf Unwissenheit beruht, die nur zu bedauern ist. Es ist wohl die wesentlichste all der verschiedenen Ursachen dieses Ubelstandes, daß sie in ihrer Jugend auf falsche Weise erzogen sind, was dahin führte, Selbstachtung und Selbstbewußtsein nicht hoch zu schätzen, intellektuelle Fortbildung zu vernachlässigen und bloß aus Eitelkeit nach Luxus zu trachten oder sich der Lektüre von modernen Romanen und Dramen hinzugeben, sobald sie etwas chinesische Schriftzeichen gelernt haben und abendländische Literatur zu verstehen vermögen.

Man denke an manche Schülerinnen, die selbst dichten und sich mit dem Studium der klassisch-japanischen schönen Literatur beschäftigen. Zwar ist für das Studium die Lektüre von klassischen Werken und modernen Romanen wertvoll, aber Mädchen haben noch viel Wichtigeres zu tun. Eine große Reihe von Frauen kann zwar gut dichten, hat aber von dem Wert ihrer Selbstachtung nicht die geringste Ahnung; sie haben wohl viele Hunderte von modernen Romanen gelesen, aber nicht ein Buch über

<sup>1</sup> *shikyū* = Gebärmutter.

**Physiologie.** Romane und Dramen wirken auf das Gemüt ungeheuer aufregend und auf zarte Mädchen, die von Jugendhitze erfüllt sind, geradezu schädlich. Wenn die Lektüre einer derartigen Literatur studienhalber unbedingt notwendig ist, so müßte der Stoff sorgfältig ausgewählt werden.

### 21. Aufrechterhaltung der edlen Gesinnung.

Wer die Wichtigkeit der Aufrechterhaltung der edlen Gesinnung für Frauen eingesehen hat, der wird sich selbst zu schätzen wissen, ohne anderen Schaden zu tun. Ebenso wie früher findet man noch jetzt in sittenverdorbenen Kreisen Frauen, die Geisha sowie Konkubinen liefern; auch begegnet man solchen, die sich aus jenen Sphären zu den besseren Kreisen aufgeschwungen haben. Sie sind die Nichtswürdigsten der menschlichen Gesellschaft, mit denen edle Damen selbstverständlich nichts zu tun haben wollen. Alle Frauen dieser Art kann man nicht genug verachten. Keineswegs geziemt es sich indessen, einer Frau gegenüber diese Verachtung jemals zum Ausdruck zu bringen. Falls der gesellschaftliche Verkehr Bekanntschaft mit solchen Leuten unumgänglich macht, so sei man stets bestrebt, sich ihnen höflich und freundlich zu zeigen, anstatt sie gering zu schätzen. Man sei darauf hingewiesen, daß es nur zu eigenem Schaden dient, seine persönliche Würde herabzusetzen, wenn man etwa durch das Benehmen andeuten wollte: ich bin rein, du unrein, ich vornehm, du gering, um sie seine Verachtung erkennen zu lassen. Wahres Wohlwollen ihnen gegenüber bestände darin, ihre Ungebildetheit und Frechheit im stillen zu bedauern. Die Hauptsache wäre, daß man sich mit ihnen ebensowenig einlässt, wie sich um sie kümmert und sie sich möglichst fernzuhalten sucht.

### 22. Pflege der guten weiblichen Eigenschaften.

Es bedarf keiner Erwähnung, daß sich die Frau im Eheleben dem Maune treu erweisen soll; sie beide zusammen stellen ja eine einzige Person dar. Sie sollen Freud und Leid miteinander tragen, und den Treueid darf das Ehepaar um keinen Preis brechen. Was ihre Stellung in der Familie anbelangt, so liegt mit Ausnahme ihrer wirtschaftlichen Betätigung, nämlich daß der eine im Hause und der andere nach außen hin beschäftigt ist, kein Unterschied vor. Die Frau soll an ihre Gleichberechtigung in allein denken und sich selbst ebensowenig erniedrigen wie den andern. Denn jedem Teile eines Ehepaars stehen seine Rechte zu, die der geschlossenen Ehe selbst entspringen. Die Pflege der Sanftmut, die als weibliche Tugend hochgeschätzt wird und die Hauptheigenschaft des weiblichen Geschlechtes bildet, kann nicht genug angeraten und gefördert werden, da sie zugleich die Haupttugend der Frau ist. Gemeint ist damit aber nur die sanfte Art und Weise, in der die Frau sich benehmen und sprechen muß, im übrigen durchaus weder knechtische Feigheit noch blinder Gehorsam. Hierin besteht selbstverständlich ein erheblicher Unterschied bei beiden Geschlechtern. Wenn Eltern z. B. aus finanziellen Gründen ihre Tochter prostituieren oder ihres eigenen Vor-

teils halber ohne freie Wahl zur Heirat zwingen wollen, darf man, ohne jegliche Berücksichtigung der blutsverwandtschaftlichen Beziehung, sich entschieden ablehnend verhalten, denn ein derartiger Schritt ist lediglich die Folge eines elterlichen Egoismus, der in den Kindern nichts mehr als einen Spielball der Laune findet.

Verhält es sich schon mit dieser engsten Beziehung, der zwischen Eltern und Kindern, derartig, wieviel mehr mit der zwischen Mann und Frau. Zielt z. B. ein geschäftlicher Mißerfolg und Geldverlust die Verarmung der Familie nach sich, so hat die Frau, als Genossin ihres Mannes, dies Los ohne Klage mit ihm zu teilen, wie sie jedes Schicksal, ob schmerzlich oder freudig, an seiner Seite mit ihm tragen soll. Doch darf sie es nicht dulden, wenn durch des Mannes Unsittlichkeit ihr Schimpf angetan wird, indem er neben ihr sich eine Konkubine hält oder außer dem Hause in verwerflicher Weise Umgang mit Mädchen pflegt, um seine tierischen Leidenschaften zu befriedigen, ohne sich um die Angehörigen zu kümmern. Es ist eine unverzeihliche Beleidigung und Mißachtung der gleichberechtigten Ehefrau, der die letztere mit aller Energie entgegentreten muß. Diese Handlungsweise kann leicht als weibliche Eifersucht ausgelegt werden — ein haltloses Urteil, das in diesem Falle keine Beachtung verdient. Die unmoralische Handlungsweise eines Ehegatten ist nicht nur als Sünde zu verurteilen, sondern sie ist auch oft Ursache von Uneinigkeit und Unannehmlichkeiten in der Familie, ebenso einer Spannung zwischen den Geschwistern. Eine einzige unsittliche Handlung des Mannes verseucht oft nicht nur seine Nachkommen, die Vererbung der Unmoralität selbst schließt folgegemäß das Glück eines harmonischen Familienlebens aus. Schließlich finden neidische und ränkesüchtige Verwandte in diesem Falle günstige Gelegenheit, Streitigkeiten, wie über Erbfolge und Verteilung der Hinterlassenschaft, hervorzurufen.

Und das Opfer dieser Spaltungen ist niemand anders als die Witwe als Familienvorstand. Schuld daran ist offenbar das Laster des Ehegatten. Eine Ehegattin, die ganz und gar für die Haushaltung verantwortlich ist und ihrem unmoralischen Manne nicht den Kopf zurechtzusetzen vermag, verdient notwendigerweise den Tadel der Preisgabe und der Vernachlässigung der eigenen Aufgabe ihres Geschlechtes. Eine Zurückhaltung aus Furcht vor der Beschuldigung der Eifersucht gilt als Schande der Frau für ihr ganzes Leben.

### 23. Wiederverheiratung.

Ein paralleles Alteru bis zur Vollendung des Lebens gehört zum idealen ehelichen Dasein. Unbeständigkeit ist aber das Los des Menschenlebens. Oft stirbt der Mann viel zu früh, ohne sein natürliches Alter erreicht zu haben. Ist die hinterbliebene Frau schon 40 bis 50 Jahre alt und gar eine größere Anzahl von Kindern vorhanden, so wäre es das beste, als Witwe weiterzuleben. Indessen empfiehlt es sich nicht, daß eine Witwe, die sich im Alter von 20 bis 40 Jahren befindet, ledig bleibt. Trotz meines energischen Auftretens für die Wiederholung der Heirat stellen sich weitere

Kreise diesem Problem gleichgültig gegenüber. Nicht nur interessieren sich selbst die Gelehrtenkreise wenig dafür, sondern sie sind sogar bedauerlicherweise geneigt, gerade in dem Witwenleben eine Tugend des weiblichen Geschlechtes zu erblicken und gegen die Wiederverheiratung zu wirken in Anführung des unbegründeten Spruches: »Treue Ehefrauen heiraten keinen zweiten Mann.« Dieser alte Spruch soll aber jedenfalls vielmehr eine Warnung in sich schließen, damit, wenn eine Witwe in Beziehungen zu einem fremden Manne tritt, durch diese unsittliche Handlungen verhütet werden, wie ebenfalls bei einem modernen verheirateten Manne, der sich mit einem Freudenmädchen einläßt. Aber das Schicksal des Menschen hängt durchaus vom Himmel ab; mit menschlichen Kräften ist dagegen nichts zu tun. Der nächste Verwandte von gestern kann heute schon nicht mehr da sein. Was nicht mehr ist, betrachtet man auch als ein Nichts. Den Lebenden gehört das Leben, und die Hinterbliebenen sollen an sich denken. Das Wort: »Man gedenkt des Toten ebensogut wie des Lebenden« beruht auf dem menschlichen Gefühl. Für das praktische Leben kann das Gefühl nicht ausschlaggebend sein. Die Pietät gegen den Toten äußert sich oft darin, daß man ihm bei der Gedenkfeier Opfer darbringt; aber wie innig der Wunsch auch sein mag, es ist doch unmöglich, ihm zu essen und zu trinken zu geben. Selbstverständlich muß sich der Lebende an den Toten pietätvoll erinnern; das Abscheiden ist unendlich zu bedauern, doch denke man daran, daß das jenseitige und diesseitige Leben verschiedene Welten sind. Es darf deshalb die innige Erinnerung an die Vergangenheit die Lebensfragen, die sich an die Gegenwart knüpfen, nicht hindernd beeinflussen. Mit aller Energie wende man die Gedanken von der Vergangenheit ab und richte sie auf die Zukunft.

Auf das hohe Gut dieser Freiheit, auf Grund deren ich die Wiederverheiratung befürworte, hat der Mensch ein Recht, besonders da die Wiederverheiratung des männlichen wie des weiblichen Geschlechtes in der ganzen Welt üblich ist. Nur in Japan steht sie allein den Männern ganz frei, den Frauen aber nur unter gewissen Bedingungen — eine Tatsache, die die Gleichberechtigung der beiden Geschlechter beeinträchtigt und die ich deshalb nicht übersehen möchte.

### Nachwort.

Die obigen Stücke 1—23 sind gegen die herkömmlichen einheimischen Ansichten. Besonders da ich die Sätze des alten Onnadaigaku scharf kritisiert habe und jetzt die Grundsätze des neuen zu verbreiten suche, werden sie unter dem Publikum mehr oder weniger Widerspruch erregen.

Die ältere Ansicht sucht die Beziehungen beider Geschlechter zueinander ausschließlich durch die Form zu regeln, während ich auf Grund der Natur des Menschen ihren inneren Verkehr pflegen möchte. Es ist allerdings begreiflich, daß die sogenannten alten Konfuzianer an den hundert- und tausendjährigen herkömmlichen Formalitäten hängen, die ihnen

gleichsam zur zweiten Natur geworden sind, so daß sie mit den schlechten Sitten, der Hochschätzung der Männer und Geringschätzung der Frauen, ohne zu einer selbständigen Einsicht gelangt zu sein, zufrieden sind. Auch wundert man sich nicht, daß sie ~~diese~~ neueren Ansichten, die auf der modernen Zivilisation beruhen, nicht verstehen. In dem modernen Japan leben aber moderne Japaner. Ich will mit diesen neuen Freunden, mit den Modernen, Hand in Hand gehen. Vor Widersprüchen der Konfuzianer ist mir nicht bange. Es gibt nicht nur alte Leute mit grauweißen Haaren, sondern auch zur großen Verwunderung jüngere, die offen kundgeben, daß sie alles, das Konkrete und Abstrakte, einzig und allein am Kulturmaßstab messen, aber die schlechten Sitten der alten konfuzianischen Schule dazu benutzen, die Sünden ihrer tierischen und unsittlichen Handlungen zu entschuldigen. Solche Leute, die sich den Menschen als Hochgesinnte darstellen, aber unter den Armeln der verfaulten Konfuzianer Schutz suchen, um die zivilierte Gesellschaft zu täuschen, sollte man als Schalksknechte bezeichnen. Solche Handlungsweise ist geradezu erbärmlich. Wenn es etwa vorkommen sollte, daß diese Schützlinge der konfuzianischen Schule aus Not eine eigene Ansicht ausfindig machen und Widersprüche zu erheben versuchen würden, würde es einen traurigen Eindruck machen. Ich würde diese Leute im ganzen Lande mit Wort und Feder verfolgen und ihnen in keinem Punkte Nachsicht gewähren. Die Kritik des alten Onnadaigaku und die vorliegende Schrift, als ein Neues, sind für die japanischen Frauen verfaßt worden. Sie machen es sich zur Herzenssache, die letzteren aus ihrer tausendjährigen Erstickung und ihrem Kummer zu retten und sie dahin zu bringen, daß sie in sozialer Hinsicht selbständig werden. Sie geben ein Heilmittel, das nicht nur den Frauen, sondern auch den Männern, ihrer Familie und selbst den Nachkommen noch Nutzen bringt und durch das man nur zu allerlei Vorteilen und Glück gelangt, ohne sich Schaden zuzuziehen. Deshalb lege man den Mädchen von Jugend auf das Wesentliche aus den im Text erwähnten Regeln ans Herz. Wenn sie so weit vorgeschritten sind, um selbst lesen zu können, gebe man ihnen das Buch in die Hand. Unklare Stellen erklärt man ihnen, damit sie sie nicht falsch verstehen. Die Empfindungen der Eltern zu den Kindern sind jetzt wie einst dieselben geblieben. Ihre Liebe zu ihren Söhnen und Töchtern, älteren und jüngeren Brüdern und älteren und jüngeren Schwestern ist die gleiche geblieben, sie ist inzwischen nicht um ein Haar breit anders geworden. Wie groß wären die Schmerzen der Eltern, wenn sie das künftige Schicksal ihrer Kinder und Verwandten, die ihnen am nächsten stehen und die sie über alles lieben, voraussehen könnten und bei stiller Betrachtung über das Zukunftsglück derselben feststellen könnten, daß bestimmte Kinder unglücklich werden müßten. Die Eltern pflegen sie Tag und Nacht und sorgen sich sogar um einen Zahn oder ein Auge, und wie sehr erst um körperliche oder geistige Mängel oder Verkrüpplung. Man sagt, je dümmner die Kinder sind, desto mehr werden sie von den Eltern geliebt, und je krüppelhafter sie sind, desto mehr werden sie von ihnen bemitleidet. Man darf diesen Spruch als Ausdruck des innersten Gemütslebens hinnehmen. Der Inhalt

dieselben läßt die Liebe und Fürsorge der Eltern erkennen, die allen Kindern ein gleiches Glück erwünschen. Man sieht daraus die wahre Ge- sinnung der Eltern, das reine Elterngemüts, das sich das Glück ihrer Kinder, der älteren und jüngeren, ohne Unterschied gleichmäßig angelegen sein läßt. Wenn man nun die Zukunft der Mädchen betrachtet und sich fragt, ob diese zu Beunruhigung Veranlassung gibt, so muß man das ohne weiteres bejahen. Gibt man eine Tochter in eine fremde Familie zur Frau, so hat man schon Sorge, wie sie die Gunst der Schwiegereltern erringen und wie sie ihren Verkehr mit Schwager und Schwägerinnen harmonisch gestalten kann. Und im Falle sich diese schwierigen Beziehungen glücklich und friedlich gestalten, ist noch der Ehegatte vorhanden, der, von dem das Glück ihres Lebens doch am meisten abhängig ist. Wenn er von gutem Charakter und sein Verhalten ihr gegenüber zärtlich und liebevoll ist, hat sie Glück. Was aber wäre zu tun, wenn dies nicht der Fall und er ein Mann wäre, der, wie es nicht selten vorkommt, seine Frau für nichts hält, bestialisch handelt und endlich in seiner liederlichen Lebensführung zu Hause öffentlich eine Nebenfrau hält, so daß, wie es in China gebräuchlich, Frau und Nebenfrau in einem Hause miteinander leben müssen? Nach bisheriger Sitte mußte sie sich entweder still dulden in dieses Verhältnis fügen oder sich scheiden lassen. Die Wahl des Bräutigams oder die Heirat einer Tochter gleicht einem Lotterielos: »das Glück hängt vom Himmel ab«, denn je nach der Geinütsart des Mannes entstehen ihr in der Ehe Paradies oder Hölle. Freuden und Kummerisse der Frau sind gleichsam Spielzeug in den Händen des Ehemannes. Ist es doch bei der natürlichen Unnigkeit der Liebe der Eltern selbstverständlich, daß eine derartig unsichere und trostlose Zukunft der Töchter ihnen große Sorge macht und sie veranlaßt, Sicherheitsmaßregeln dagegen zu treffen. Hierin ist der Hauptgrund für die Notwendigkeit der modernen Erziehung zu suchen. Es ist die erste Pflicht der die Kinder liebenden Eltern, die Töchter, wenn man ihnen auch keine gelehrt Bildung gewährt, so weit zu bringen, daß sie über die gesellschaftlichen Bräuche im wesentlichen orientiert sind und daß sie zur rechten Einsicht über ihre Stellung und Ansprüche als Frau kommen. Sie müssen ihre Bedeutung für den Mann einschätzen und sich den Grundsatz der Gleichheit beider Geschlechter klar machen können und innerlich so gefestigt werden, daß sie sich ihrer persönlichen Rechte bewußt werden und sie standhaft zu behaupten suchen, damit sie nicht in jeder Lebenslage schwanken. Die Bemerkung am Schluß des alten Onnadaigaku, daß man besser mit dem Aufgebot von 10 000 000 Sen seine Töchter verheiratet, als sie mit dem von 100 000 Sen ausbildet, verdient die größte Beachtung. Ich möchte noch einen Schritt weitergehen und dazu raten, sie bei der Verheiratung nicht nur mit der Ausstattung, sondern mit einem gewissen Vermögen zu versehen. Abgesehen von unbemittelten Familien ist es wohl der Wunsch aller wohlhabenderen Eltern, die Zukunft ihrer Töchter nachdem sie dieselben einem Fremden zur Frau gegeben haben, auch in materieller Hinsicht sorgenfrei und vor allem sicher zu gestalten, so daß sie, im selbstverfügbaren Besitz eines Kapitals, unter Umständen selbständig

für sich leben können. Die Berechtigung der drei Gehorsamsgesetze der Frauen: Gehorsam in der Jugend gegen die Eltern, in der Ehe gegen den Mann und im Alter gegen die Kinder ist an und für sich vom moralischen Standpunkt aus betrachtet, nicht zu erkennen, doch wird dieser Gehorsam bei Frauen, deren Wesen nicht durch die vorerwähnte Bildung gefestigt ist, oft aus Schwachheit und Nachgiebigkeit dem Ehemann und den Kindern gegenüber zu einer blinden Unterwerfung, so daß die Frau, gleich einer Sklavin, in keiner Beziehung frei handeln kann. Bei der Unbeständigkeit des Glückes im menschlichen Leben oder wenn sie an einen habgierigen, gefühllosen Manu verheiratet ist, der neben sich keinen anderen anerkennt, so daß er alles bis auf die Asche im Kochherde als seinen eigenen Besitz ansieht, wird die Frau auch trotz des nachgiebigsten Wesens zum kummervollen Nachdenken über ihr Geschick kommen. Einzig und allein setzt sie dann ein nur ihr verfügbares Kapital in den Stand, sich freier zu fühlen und sich angenehmer einzurichten zu können. Eine auf diese Art und Weise in gewissem Grade selbstständig gestellte Frau wird auch ihrem Manne gegenüber selten Wünsche äußern, und im Falle ihr ein solcher einmal nicht erfüllt werden kann, wird keine Unzufriedenheit und keine Mißstimmung im Familienleben entstehen. Ein alter Spruch heißt: »Wo Kleidung und Nahrung genügend vorhanden sind, entstehen gute Sitten«. Der Mangel an Kapital bedeutet für Ehefrauen in vielen Fällen gleichsam einen Mangel an Kleidung und Nahrung. Durch die Verteilung eines Kapitals ist ein Mittel gegeben, durch das die Eltern das Leben ihrer geliebten Töchter verschönern und sie das eheliche Zusammenleben mit Anstand genießen lassen können. Wenn die Frauen das ihnen bei der Verheiratung übergebene Kapital nicht selbstständig zu verwalten vermögen, kann es in ihren Händen in ein Nichts zerrinnen. Bei dem Antritt des Besitzes muß ebenso an dessen Sicherung wie an die nutzbringende Verwendung desselben gedacht werden, denn fremde Worte darf man ebensowenig ohne weiteres bezweifeln als ihnen blindlings trauen. Kurz, es entsteht den Frauen durch solch ein Vermögen eine Verantwortlichkeit, die nicht zu unterschätzen ist. Im Abendlande soll diese Angelegenheit für Frauen klar und fest geregelt sein; es wäre gut, auch dies bei uns nicht zu versäumen.



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